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THE

TORY OF INDI

ROM THE EARLIEST AGES.

BY

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IN PREPARATION.

By the same Author.

HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST AG
VEDIC PERIOD AND MAHÁ BHÁRAT

New Edition revised.

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TO

GENERAL ALBERT FYTCHE, C. S. I.,

LATE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF BRITISH BURMA,

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE present volume, like its predecessor, is complete in itself. It tells the history of India under Mussulman rule. At the same time it forms the fourth volume, or part of the fourth volume, of the "History of India from the Earliest Ages."

The history of Mussulman India is altogether distinct from that of Hindú India. The previous volumes treated of the Hindú people;—the natives of India properly so called. The present volume treats of the Mussulman people;—the fair-complexioned foreigners who conquered the Hindú people in the eleventh century of the Christian era. The Hindú people worshipped idols, as they were taught by the Bráhmans. The Mussulman people worshipped the God of the Patriarchs, as they were taught by Muhammad the prophet. The history of Mussulman India begins when the Rajpoots were masters; it tells how the Mussulmans became masters; it gives the annals of Mussulman Sultans down to the time when the English began to play a part in India.

The history of Mussulman India has been divided into four periods; they correspond to four stages in the development of the religion of the Koran;—the Sunní, the Shíah, the Súfí, and the Sunní revival. This division is sufficiently explained in the progress of the history. There is another

division which demands an explanation at the outset; it is the separation of the Mussulman period from the Moghul period.

The Mussulman period is the one properly so called. It extended from the eleventh century to the sixteenth. Throughout this interval of five centuries the religion of Islam was dominant throughout the Mussulman empire. The Sultans were mostly staunch Mussulmans.

The Moghul period has been wrongly called Mussulman. It extended from the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth. Throughout this interval the Koran was neglected or ignored; many of the so-called Mussulmans were Súfí heretics; many affected open infidelity. Akber, the greatest sovereign of the Moghul dynasty, threw off all pretence of being a Mussulman. He persecuted Mussulmans; he destroyed mosques; he broke up the power of the Ulamá, or Mussulman church; he drove the chiefs of the Ulamá into exile; he set up a religion of his own, known as the "Divine Faith." Neither Akber, nor his son Jehangír, nor his grandson Shah Jehan, has the slightest claim to be called Mussulmans.

The historians of the Mussulman period, properly so called, generally told the truth. Occasionally they may have praised bad princes because they were good Mussulmans; otherwise they were honest and trustworthy. They were kept up to the mark by the influence of the Ulamá. The Ulamá comprised the collective body of doctors, lawyers, magistrates, and judges resident at the capital. It combined the authority of law with that of religion. It was the one independent voice in the circle of Asiatic despotism. Had the historians of the Mussulman period sacrificed truth to flattery, they would have exposed themselves to the scorn of the Ulamá.[1]

[1] Ferishta is a type of the truth-telling historians of the Mussulman period.

Under the Moghul rule all these conditions were changed. When Akber broke up the Ulamá, public opinion ceased to have a voice in India. History degenerated into flattery and falsehood. European historians of India have believed in the fulsome flattery of Persian parasites and party writers.[2] They have ignored the authority of European contemporaries, who had no temptation to depart from the truth. Jehangír and Shah Jehan have been lauded as great and beneficent sovereigns. In reality they were the most shameless tyrants that ever disgraced a throne. Moghul administration has been held up as a model for British imitation. In reality it was a monstrous system of oppression and extortion, which none but Asiatics could have practised or endured. Justice was a mockery. Magistrates could always be bribed; false witnesses could always be bought. Religion had ceased to be a check upon Asiatic corruption and depravity. The Hindús were slaves in the hands of grinding task-masters;—foreigners who knew not how to pity or how to spare. In the present day there is greater secrecy in native rule; a greater fear of the interference of the paramount power; a show of imitation of British administration. In reality the spirit of tyranny and despotism in native states is the same as ever.

The evidence by which Moghul history has been placed upon a truthful footing is beyond all question. It is given by Europeans of different nations, who resided in India

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So are most of the historians which have been translated and preserved in Sir Henry Elliot's History of India as told by its own historians. Abul Fazl and Khán Khan are types of the flatterers who flourished during the Moghul period.

This statement by no means diminishes the value of Mr Blochmann's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl. Mr Blochmann's work is invaluable.

[2] No slight is thrown upon the study of oriental languages. No one can have a greater respect for such study than the author of this history. It has led to discoveries in philology and religion which will be appreciated for all time. But belief in an oriental flatterer is a very different matter.

at different periods during the reigns of Jehangír and Shah Jehan. A general agreement runs through them all. William Hawkins was an English sea captain who spent two or three years at Agra between 1608 and 1611. Sir Thomas Roe was an Englishman of good family who followed the court of Jehangír from 1616 to 1618 in the character of an ambassador from James the First. Sir Thomas Herbert was an English gentleman who travelled in India about 1627 and 1628. John Albert de Mandelslo was a young gentleman who had been brought up in the court of the Duke of Holstein; he travelled in India between 1638 and 1640. Francis Bernier was a French physician who lived in India from 1656 to 1668. He resided at the Moghul court at Delhi; he traversed India from Kashmír to Golkonda. John Baptista Tavernier was an intelligent jeweller who travelled through India two or three times in the reigns of Shah Jehan and Aurungzeb. Monsieur de Thevenot was a French gentleman who travelled through India in the early years of the reign of Aurungzeb. Such are the authorities on which the historian has relied; they present a true picture of native rule.

There are other authorities, besides those cited, which demand special mention. A Venetian physician, named Manouchi, resided forty-eight years in India. He was in the service of Shah Jehan; afterwards in that of Aurungzeb. He compiled memoirs of the Moghul sovereigns of India; they were drawn out of the Moghul chronicles or registers which were preserved at Delhi in the Persian language. The memoirs were written in Portuguese; they comprised extracts from the chronicles translated into Portuguese. Manouchi sent his manuscripts to Europe. They were adorned with portraits of different Moghul emperors, and of all

the eminent men in the Moghul empire. The portraits were painted at a great charge by artists employed in the palace.

The memoirs of Manouchi fell into the hands of a Jesuit priest named Father Catrou. They do not appear to have been printed or published. In 1708 Father Catrou published at the Hague a history of the Moghul empire written in French; it was based on the memoirs of Manouchi. In 1826 an English translation of Father Catrou's history was published in London.

The history of Father Catrou has often been cited in the present work. It forms the very best authority for the history of the reign of Shah Jehan. Catrou's history of this period is in accord with that of Bernier. Catrou is far more successful than Bernier in bringing out the true character of the leaders in the great war which brought the reign of Shah Jehan to a close. Manouchi must have sent to Europe copies of the correspondence between the more prominent actors. Catrou quotes letters which reveal the inner nature and disposition of the writers. The substance is given in the sixth chapter of the present volume. They impart a dramatic character to the history.

Father Catrou's history is incomplete. Manouchi wrote memoirs of Aurungzeb, the son and successor of Shah Jehan. Father Catrou closes his history with Shah Jehan, the father of Aurungzeb. He states in his preface that he had written a history of the reign of Aurungzeb based on Manouchi's memoirs; he promised to publish it if his history of the previous Moghul emperors found favour with the public. Neither the memoirs nor the history of Aurungzeb appear to have been published. Possibly the manuscripts

may have been preserved in some library down to our own time. If so they would be a great boon to the historian. The reign of Aurungzeb is difficult and obscure. Manouchi would have been able to correct by his personal knowledge any bombast or exaggeration that might be recorded in the chronicles.

Under these circumstances the present volume has been brought to a close with the reign of Shah Jehan. Meanwhile the author would be glad of any information respecting the memoirs of the Moghul empire in India by Signor Manouchi, or the history of Aurungzeb by Father Catrou.[3]

There is one other point to which attention may be drawn. It will be seen in the course of the present volume that the Moghuls bore a striking resemblance to the Vedic Aryans; that the Moghul empire in India between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was probably only a repetition of what has been apparently going on in India through unrecorded ages; that the Moghul empire in India was only the last link in a chain of empires which began in the remotest antiquity. In other words, it will be seen that there is reason to believe that the Vedic Aryans were Moghuls; that Asoka and Akber sprang from the same stock as the worshippers of the Vedic gods.

The authorities for these conclusions are referred to in the course of the history; some extracts from those

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[3] The appendices, index, and maps will be published with the second part of this volume. At page 27 it is stated that Hindú history will be treated in "the fourth" chapter of the present volume; it should have been "a future" chapter. The Hindú history of the Peninsula will be dealt with in the forthcoming part of the present volume.

The name of Chitór has been wrongly accentuated in some of the earlier pages. It should be Chitór, not Chítor.

authorities are given in the notes. There is one important passage in the Travels of Father Rubruquis[4] which has been omitted; it is worthy of being extracted, and is accordingly given in the present place:—

"When they (Tartars or Moghuls) meet to make merry, they sprinkle part of their drink upon the image which is over the master's head, and afterwards upon the other images in their order; then a servant goes out of the house with a cup full of drink, sprinkling it thrice towards the south, and bowing his knee every time; this is done in honour of Fire. He performs the same ceremony towards the east in honour of Air; then to the west in honour of Water; lastly to the north in honour of the Dead [i. e. of ghosts]. When the master holds a cup in his hand to drink, before he tastes he pours a part of it upon the ground; if he drinks sitting on horseback, he pours out part upon the neck or mane of the horse before he drinks."

Those who are familiar with Vedic conceptions will probably recognize them in the foregoing extract.

Rubruquis travelled through Tartary and visited the courts of the Moghul Khans in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. At that time the Moghuls carried on frequent wars against the Turks. The antagonism between Moghul and Turk prevailed at every period in history. It will be seen in the course of the present volume that it corresponded to the antagonism between the solar and lunar races, the children of the sun and the children of the moon, which has prevailed from the remotest antiquity. A golden sun, or a peacock, has ever been the emblem of the Persian, the

[4] See pages 123 and 124 of the present volume.

Rajpoot, and the Moghul. The moon or crescent has ever been the emblem of the Turk. The antagonism between the two has outlived their common conversion to Islam; to this day it finds expression in the antagonism between Shiah and Sunní.[5]

In conclusion the author begs to express his best thanks to the Rev. William Baines for kind help in the translation of authorities in Portuguese, Spanish, and other European languages.

Witham, Essex,
18th December, 1875.

[5] See page 277 of the present volume.

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HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

ISLAM BEFORE THE CONQUEST OF INDIA.

A.D. 570 TO 997.

Collision between Mussulmans and Hindús: its effect on Indian Mussulmans.

THE history of Mussulman India is the record of a collision between two races, the Turks and the Hindús. These races were the representatives of two hostile creeds, Islam and Brahmanism. In the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, the Turks invaded India from the north-west by the same route as that taken by Alexander. They overcame the Hindús; they conquered the Punjab and greater part of Hindustan. Later on they conquered the remainder of Hindustan, and pushed southwards into the Dekhan and Peninsula.[1] Seven or eight centuries passed away. The British appeared in the eastern seas; they took root in India; they grew into political power. But still the Mussulmans continued to exercise dominion in India. They introduced a polity of their own; they converted millions of Hindús to their own faith. But they never stamped out the Hindú element;

[1] The division of India proper into the three zones of Hindustan, the Dekhan, and the Peninsula, has already been laid down in a previous chapter. See *ante*, vol. ii.

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they never drove out Brahmanism, nor broke up the caste system. At times they even yielded to the charm of Hinduism; to this day many Mussulmans in India are governed by caste ideas. At times the current of Mussulman invasion was overpowered by a counter-current of Hindú reaction; and the study of those reactions throws a new light upon political and religious developments in India. Some Mussulman rulers have drifted so near to Hinduism that they have all but lost their religion; others have grown so intolerant of Hinduism that they have all but lost their empire.

Effect on Hindús.

But the effects of the collision were not confined to Mussulmans. Millions of Hindús became converts. Millions more were worked upon by Islam, who never left the pale of Brahmanism. From an early period in the history of the collision Hindú reformers were teaching that the God of the Mussulman and the God of the Hindú are one and the same. The Mussulman element is still noiselessly at work beneath the surface of Hindú life. The growing lassitude about religion, the growing scepticism amongst educated natives, the loosening of the bonds of caste, all prove that a reaction is inevitable. What form it will take is a problem which has yet to be solved.

Significance of the collision.

The progress of the Mussulmans in India thus reveals phenomena of the deepest interest. The Indian continent is still overladen with pagodas, and swarming with idols; but mosques meet the eyes in every city, as standing protests against idolatry. The antagonism between the two [illegible] lasted for centuries. The pagodas are close and sepulchral, like palaces of the dead. The idols

enthroned on high like temporal Rajas. They are feasted with sacrifices and offerings, gratified with music and dances, and propitiated by songs and praises. The mosque is a public hall open to all believers. There are no images, no altars, no musicians, no dancing-women, and few ornamentations. The daily worship is hostile to Brahmanism. It expresses a simple formula but profound faith:—"There is but one God and Muhammad is his prophet."[2] CHAPTER I.

The collision between Islam and Brahmanism is thus apparent to all beholders. The historian does not deal with the religious controversy; that is left to theologians. His simple task is to tell the story of the collision in India, to trace out its political results, and to unfold the lessons which they convey. The subject is not a mere speculative inquiry. It is of pressing importance at this moment; it is of vast importance for all time. The antagonism between Mussulman and Hindú, added to the con- Political results.

[2] The Mussulman mosque, whether large or small, is generally a plain square building. At each of the four quarters is a tower or minaret, from which the muezzins chant the daily call to prayers. In front is a square court, with a fountain in which the faithful perform the preliminary ablutions which are ordered by the Koran. The mosque, properly so called, is a large hall paved with marble or polished stone. There are no benches of any kind whatever; nothing but mats or carpets on which the worshippers kneel and make their prostrations. The walls are generally white, covered with texts of the Koran in black letters. The pulpit of the Imám or priest is set up with its face towards Mecca. As the believer takes off his shoes and enters the sacred precincts, he leaves the world behind him, and breathes an atmosphere of devotion and contemplation. The Mullah or Imám conducts the public prayers. He reads a portion of the Koran in Arabic, and usually subjoins a short explanation in the vulgar tongue. The whole congregation are in an attitude of worship. The names of Allah and Muhammad are on every lip; to all appearance the prayers of all present are fixed upon God and his prophet.

The shrines or tombs built in honour of holy men, or of distinguished individuals, are of a different construction. The mosque is plain, because it is a house of prayer to God; but the shrines are often ornamented out of respect for the memory of the departed.

CHAPTER I.

viction that the British government was even-handed towards all princes and all religions, strengthened and upheld the British rule for nearly a century. The dallyings between the two religions, added to the dread that the British government was growing innovating and arbitrary, led to the mutiny of Fifty-seven. These political phenomena are not peculiar to British India; it will be seen hereafter that they were manifest in Mussulman India. Those who read Indian history as a record of wars, conquests, and personal adventure, will see none of these things. Those who read it as a record of the developments that grew out of the collision between Mussulmans and Hindús, will perceive that similar forces have been at work in India ever since the beginning of Mussulman conquest. They were active in the days of Mahmúd of Ghazní. They are active to this day; easily distinguished by all who are familiar with the people.

Failure of Christianity in India.

The history of Mussulman India reveals other phenomena of even deeper interest. It explains the reason why Hindús have become Mussulmans a will not become Christians. In the sixteenth c tury there was a Protestant movement in Mus man India as there was in Christian Europe. M sulman thinkers were growing weary of the dogm arrogance of the priesthood. They inquired a other religions until they grew sceptical of t own. Christian Fathers were invited to Agra the Moghul emperor; they preached before Ak and his court; they set up a chapel and a within the precincts of the imperial palace. Ma became believers, although few were baptiz Akber and his famous minister, *Abul Fazl*, w

among the believers. Two princes of the imperial blood were baptized with the utmost pomp at Agra. The movement developed a conviction that there was but one God; that all men were striving after a knowledge of God, but by different ways; that the God of the Mussulman, the Hindú, and the Christian was one and the same. The movement languished into the same indifference of religion, the same laxity of morals, which are prevailing in India now. It ended in a religious reaction, which was inevitable then, and is inevitable now. CHAPTER I.

Mussulman history prior to the conquest of India.

The Mussulman conquest of India begins with the exploits of Mahmúd of Ghazní, 997—1030 A.D.; but the history of Mussulmans in general begins with Muhammad the prophet, 570—632 A.D. There is thus an interval of four centuries between Muhammad and Mahmúd; and it was during these four centuries that the Mussulmans established their empire in Asia, and were schooled for the conquest of India. It will be seen hereafter that the men who invaded India took their religion from Muhammad, their enthusiasm from the Arab conquest, and their culture from the Persian revival.[3]

Muhammad, the prophet of Arabia, 570-632 A.D.

The career of Muhammad is a well-known story; but the main points of his religion are better gathered from his life and its surroundings than from a critical examination of his teachings. At the advent of Muhammad, Arabia was shut in from the outer world. Its shores were rocky and inhospitable; it had no great rivers to open up the interior. There were towns, villages, and culturable

[3] The Persian revival in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era will be brought under review towards the close of the present chapter. It was a revolt, not against the Mussulman apostle or religion, but against the Arab yoke.

CHAPTER I.

lands; but they were mere oases in the desert. The Arabs were a patriarchal people distributed in tribes. Some dwelt in towns and villages; others wandered from pasture to pasture with their flocks and herds.[4]

His surroundings at Mecca.

Muhammad was born at Mecca, about seventy miles inland from the Red Sea. The city was situated about half way up the old caravan route between Aden and Palestine. It was a seat of trade; a halting-place for caravans. It was also a holy city; it contained the temple known as the Kaaba, which had been a centre of pilgrimage for all the tribes of Arabia from a remote antiquity. Three hundred and sixty idols were ranged about the Kaaba; but somehow this idolatry was mixed up with legends of the Hebrew patriarchs. It was fabled that Abraham had built the Kaaba. Hard by was shown the spot where he had prepared to offer up his son Ishmael;[5] also the Zamzem well which had sprung up at the feet of Hagar. These associations worked upon the mind of Muhammad; they filled his imagination with visions of God and his angels, of Satan and his devils. God was one and supreme ruler of the universe; Satan the rebel who tempted man to worship other go When Muhammad was twenty-five years of age went with a trading caravan into Syria. There learned something about Jesus Christ, but only Jesus the son of Mary; he rejected the doctrine

[4] It has been found impossible to append references to all the authorities the present chapter. It only comprises such heads of information as should borne in mind whilst dealing with the history of Mussulman India. They blended with general inferences and remarks for which the author is responsible.

[5] The Arab traditions represent that it was Ishmael and not Isaac that A ham intended to sacrifice.

the Trinity as opposed to the belief in one God.[6] On his return to Mecca he married the widow Khadija, who was fifteen years older than himself. Time passed away; religion and sentiment fermented in his brain, until they burst through all conventionalities. When he was forty years of age, and his wife was fifty-five, he set up as a prophet sent by God to put down idolatry and restore the religion of the patriarchs. He made a few converts at Mecca, but suffered much persecution. His teaching clashed with the idolatry of the Kaaba; it was violently opposed to the vested interests of the Koreish, who were the ruling tribe amongst the Arabs, and the hereditary guardians of the Kaaba.[7] At the age of fifty he lost his wife Khadija, and was more hotly persecuted than ever. At fifty-two he fled from Mecca to Medina, a city about two hundred and fifty miles to the northward on the route to Syria.

Flight to Medina: Muhammad a prince as well as prophet.

The Hijra, or "flight" to Medina, corresponds with 622 A.D. It is the epoch in the life of Muhammad; the turning point of his career; it has become the era of Islam. He made thousands of converts at Medina. He appealed to the sword as well as to the Koran; he became a prince as well as prophet. He warred against the Koreish of Mecca and plundered their caravans. He subdued the Jews and Arabs round about Medina.

[6] There can be little doubt that Muhammad was impressed with Christianity as it was taught in Syria. He rejected the idea that Jesus was the Son of God the Father, but he believed in him as a prophet; and he aspired to be a similar prophet in Arabia. The mosque which he ultimately built at Medina had a pit, and was more like a Christian church than a heathen temple.

[7] Muhammad had been born in the tribe of Koreish; but his fellow-tribesmen were all the more hostile on that account. The prophet was in reality the head of a democratic movement against the Koreish, who were at once a hierarchy and an oligarchy.

CHAPTER I. He built a mosque at Medina: there he conducted prayers every day and preached every Friday; there he sent forth his captains to battle, and his envoys to proclaim his mission to distant tribes. He married many wives, mostly widows; he dwelt with them by turns in a row of cottages adjoining the mosque. He sent letters to the emperor of Rome, the kings of Persia and Abyssinia, and the ruler of Egypt, calling upon them to abandon their religion and accept Islam. At last, in the fulness of his power, he conquered Mecca, and destroyed all the idols in the Kaaba. Henceforth the Kaaba was the temple of Islam; the place of pilgrimage for all Mussulmans, and for none beside Mussulmans. Henceforth Muhammad was the prophet and emperor of the whole Mussulman world. He died in 632 A.D., ten years after his flight to Medina. Within that brief period the persecuted prophet had become a sovereign power.

Specialities of Islam.

The religion of Muhammad was the outcome of his experiences in Arabia and Syria. It is summed up in the formula of Islam:—"There is but one God, and Muhammad is his prophet." Believers were to be rewarded as loyal subjects; unbelievers w to be punished as enemies and rebels. Asia sovereigns rewarded their faithful servants w beautiful slave-girls; God would reward his faith servants in like manner. On earth a believer mig marry four wives; in paradise he would be attend by any number of houris. On earth Muhamm was already the favoured messenger of God; co sequently on earth he was allowed to marry many wives as he pleased. This simple faith w no stumbling-block to the Arabs; it was in accor

ance with their own ideas and usages. It was only a stumbling-block to heretics and unbelievers; but in the eyes of every Mussulman such heretics and unbelievers were the enemies of God and his prophet, and would be punished hereafter in the torments of hell.[8]

Three dynasties of Khalifs: Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad.

Muhammad was succeeded by a line of Arab Khalifs, who were the temporal and spiritual heads of the Mussulman empire. They were not prophets like Muhammad; they were the emperors and pontiffs of the world of Islam. Their history is of moment in dealing with Mussulman India; but y are divided into three successive dynasties, ch serve as landmarks in Mussulman annals. The alifs of Medina were the four successors of Muham-d, who reigned from 632 to 660.[9] The Khalifs of mascus were known as the Omeyads; they reigned

It is a popular idea that the Arabs were always a polygamous people; and Muhammad attempted to abate the evil by restricting them to four wives. t would rather appear that few females were permitted to live; that a of brothers were contented with one wife amongst them. Before the t of Muhammad, female children were buried alive lest they should entail e or shame upon the family. (See Koran, chaps. vi. and lxxxi.) Strabo, authority is undeniable, quotes some gross cases of polyandry and incest gst the Arabs (Book xvi. chap. 4, sec. 25). Muhammad suppressed infanti- polyandry, incest, and other depraved usages, by reviving the polygamy e patriarchs, but he restricted every man to four wives. He has thus been d as a sensualist, when possibly he deserves to be praised as a reformer.

The four successors of Muhammad were Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Their names are household words with every Mussulman; they are associ- with that great breach between the Sunní and the Shíah, which has divided orld of Islam into two hostile camps. All four had been elected, or at least nized, by the congregation at Medina; but Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman had accepted only on account of their close friendship with Muhammad; whilst claim rested upon kinship as well as friendship. Ali had married Fátima, aughter of the prophet; his two sons, Hasan and Husain, were the grandsons e prophet. The Sunnís accepted all four Khalifs; the Shíahs rejected the hree as usurpers, and declared that Ali and his two sons, Hasan and Husain, the only rightful successors of the prophet. All the early Mussulman con- rs of India were Sunnís; the breach between the Sunnís and the Shíahs expression in the later history of Mussulman India, when it will be brought fully under review.

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from 660 to 750. The Khalifs of Bagdad were known as the Abbasides; they reigned from 750 to 1258, when they were finally subverted by the Moghuls.[10]

Khalifs of Medina, 630-660: conquest of Syria and Persia.

The reigns of the four Khalifs of Medina scarcely lasted a generation, but within that brief period the Arab Mussulmans took Asia by storm. They poured out of the desert and overspread Syria and Persia like a destroying flood. They captured wealthy cities, sacked houses and palaces, and carried away multitudes of captives to be their slaves. Syrians and Persians struggled agai them in vain. They plundered like brigands, they fought like crusaders. Whilst filling the with yells of God and his prophet, they cut pieces the trained legions of Rome, and scatte the hosts of Persia. The civilized inhabitants Western Asia had hitherto despised the Arab rude barbarians of the desert. They had l Muhammad in no esteem, and had scoffed at pretensions. They soon found that resistance not only vain, but led to utter ruin; to the lo everything that made life dear; to the slaver themselves and their wives, their sons and t daughters; often to the forced conversions of t women and unutterable shame.

Jews and Christians pay Jezya, or tribute.

Submission, however, did not necessarily inv the surrender of their religion. Jews and Christi might remain as they were, provided that they t dered their submission to the Khalif, and pai certain tribute or capitation tax, which was ca

[10] A strong and bitter antagonism prevailed between the Omeyads and A ides, but it has no bearing upon the history of Mussulman India. It be only to the history of the Arab Khalifat.

Jezya. But they were not allowed to expose the symbols or images of their respective religions, or to hinder their children from embracing Islam. They were subjected to many indignities. They were forbidden to ride on saddles, or to carry arms, or to wear Mussulman costume. They were compelled to entertain for three days any Mussulman travellers that chose to quarter themselves in their houses. They were in fact treated as infidels and enemies of the prophet; to be tolerated on condition of paying Jezya, and nothing more.[11]

Numerous converts.

Under such circumstances conversions must have come numerous. Those who turned away from aism or Christianity and accepted Muhammad heir prophet, might be scorned as apostates by ir own people; but their own people had become despised and persecuted. On the other hand, accepting Muhammad the convert was received the brotherhood of Islam. He shared in the y, the spoil, and the license of the conquerors, was qualified for holding high offices and comds.

Causes of the Arab ascendancy: the brotherhood of Islam.

The causes which enabled the rude barbarians of desert to triumph over disciplined armies have ays been open to question. It has been urged that Syrians and Persians were sunk in effeminacy luxury; that the Arabs were much hardier liers, whilst they were equally skilful in the use

[11] The terms upon which Jews and Christians were permitted to reside in ulman countries were originally laid down in the treaty of 637 between if Omar and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. (See Ockley's History of the Sara-) These restrictions were maintained in many Mussulman countries down recent period. One of the conditions of peace between Russia and the ates of Turkistan was that these restrictions should be removed. igoted Mussulmans denied that idolaters should be permitted to carry on idolatry even after payment of Jezya.

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of the sword, spear, and bow. But all these conditions had been in existence from a remote antiquity, and yet the Arabs had been generally kept within their native deserts.[12] The fact appears to be that Islam had changed their organization. They were no longer a loose undisciplined force, divided by their tribal feuds. They were knitted together in the bonds of a brotherhood, which rendered them as strong as the Macedonian phalanx. Under such circumstances neither discipline nor valour could prevail against them.

Influence of women.

There was also another element of strength. The martial enthusiasm of the Arabs was stimulat to the highest pitch by women and religion. women went with them to the battle. They pla timbrels and they sang songs. They urged men to fight by promised kisses and embra They drove back the faint-hearted by taunts and vilings. Meanwhile the blood of the Arab hero warmed, not only by a burning zeal for God and prophet, but by visions of the houris of para If he escaped with victory he would be caressed the fairest women in the camp. If he perished would be received in the arms of heavenly beau Many a dying hero has drawn his last breath a smile, dreaming that the houris were wav their green veils to welcome him as their lord bridegroom.[13]

[12] The invasion of Persia by Zohák the Arabian, as recorded in the Námeh, is exceptional.

[13] The great battle of Aijnadin, in which the celebrated Khalid overthre legions of the emperor Heraclius, was certainly gained by this powerful incer At the beginning of the action Khalid cried out to his Arabs:—'Paradise an houris are before your faces; hell and the devil are behind your backs.' M while the women were singing in the rear:—'Fight on, and we will kiss and brace you; turn not back, or we will hate and spurn you.' At the first charg

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Khalifs of Damascus, 660-750: conquest of Central Asia.

During the reigns of the Khalifs of Damascus, the Arabs were pushing their dominion further and further to the eastward. They overran Central Asia, and finally came in conflict with the Hindús in the neighbourhood of the river Indus. The Arab conquest of Central Asia is of deep significance. It throws some light upon the previous invasion of Alexander. It supplements the information supplied by the Chinese pilgrims. It opens up the ground which became the basis of operations during the Mussulman conquest of the Punjab and Hindustan.

Four oases: Khorassan, Kábul, Bokhara, and Scinde.

Central Asia consists of four oases more or less [illegible]ounded by desert. The oases have always been [illegible]pied by civilized populations dwelling in cities; they are separated from each other by dreary [illegible]s, sparsely peopled by Turkomans and other [illegible]des, dwelling in tents. The oases are [illegible]n by the names of Khorassan, Kábul, Bokhara, Scinde. Khorassan might be described as a [illegible]ontory of Persia, stretching out eastward into [illegible]esert of the Turkomans. Beyond this desert, further to the eastward, is the territory of [illegible]ul. North-west of Kábul is Bokhara; south-east [illegible]ábul is Scinde. The relative position of these regions may be best gathered from the accom[illegible]ying map.[14]

could not prevail against the discipline of the legions. They began to re- when the women abused them for their cowardice and drove them back with t poles. The slaughter was terrible, but the Arabs gained the victory. 's *History of the Saracens*.

There is some difficulty in mapping out these regions. Thus Bokhara is denote the region occupied in the present day by the three Usbeg Khanates va, Bokhara, and Khokand; but in the eighth century, the population was ntly Persian, and the Usbegs had not made their appearance. Again, Kábul to denote both Kábul and Kandahar; and the term Afghanistan is avoided e it would imply that the Afghans had already founded an independent , which is very doubtful. In the previous century the Chinese pilgrim

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Conquest of Khorassan: outposts at Merv and Herat.

The Arab conquest of Khorassan calls for no remark. When it was accomplished, the Arabs established two outposts in the eastern desert, one at Merv and the other at Herat. Merv lies to the north, and is the key of Bokhara. Herat lies two hundred miles to the south of Merv, and is the key to Kábul. As regards Scinde the Arabs had no outpost; and it is doubtful whether they ever maintained a permanent hold on Scinde.

Conquest of Bokhara: the cradle of the Persians.

The conquest of Bokhara was perhaps the most important of the three. This region was known to the Greeks as Transoxiana, and to the Arabs as Mawar-an-Nahr, or "Beyond the Oxus."[15] It the original seat of the old Persian or Aryan p lation. Here the Arabs encountered the Pers in their ancient stronghold.[16] Time after tim Arabs conquered the princes of Bokhara, and

Hiouen-Thsang found the whole country teeming with Buddhists. (See *a* iii. chap. v.) It should also be added that Scinde is cut off from Pers by the rude populations of Mekran and Beluchistan than by the deser Turkomans.

[15] The entire region of Bokhara or Mawar-an-Nahr may be describ large oasis, watered by the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, and hemmed in on every side by desert steppes. To the north, the dreary interminable wa Kiptchak,—the native home of the Kossak hordes,—which extend fr Caspian to the Chinese frontier, separate Turkistan, or did separate it Russia and Siberia. To the west, the great desert of Khiva—dotted w felt tents of Turkoman nomads—separates it from Persia and Khorassa the east, the huge mountain wall—known as the Pamir steppe, or "Roof World"—protects it more or less from the Chinese Tartars of Kashghar, Ya and Khotan. The southern frontier is more cultivated and thickly p One line is formed by the river Oxus; further south, a second line is by the mountain barriers of the Hindú Kúsh. Between these two lines fertile plain of Balkh, the ancient Bactria, which was the centre of the Zoro fire-worship, and has been celebrated for its corn, wine, and breed of hors time immemorial. In the present day the region between the Hindú Kú the Oxus is distributed amongst a number of petty states or provinces, inc modern Balkh and Badakshan, who all own allegiance to the Amír of Afgha

[16] Many of the localities mentioned in the Vendidat of the Avesta, F I., can be identified with places in Mawar-an-Nahr. See Bleek's Translat the Avesta, London, 1864.

them to accept Islam; yet whenever the Arabs retired to Merv the princes threw off their allegiance, withheld tribute, and returned to their ancient faith and worship. Again and again the Arabs inflicted a fearful punishment; apostates were slaughtered, cities were sacked, and women and children were enslaved. But apostasy and rebellion were soon as rife as ever. At last the Arabs took possession of the whole country. The Persian princes were dethroned or used as puppets by the Arab ls. Police regulations were carried out with nost severity. No one was allowed to leave se after sunset on pain of death.[17] No one o whisper to his neighbour lest he should be l with treason. Meantime the people were rted wholesale. An Arab teacher was quar- on every household until its inmates had ted Islam; any relapse or backsliding was hed with ruthless severity.[18]

Conquest of Kábul: Jewish origin of the Afghans.

he conquest of Kábul is more obscure. The le of the valleys may have been Buddhist as were in the days of Hiouen-Thsang.[19] But people of the hills were Afghans, and may been easily induced to accept the Koran.[20] Afghans are to all appearance of Hebrew ent. They style themselves the "children of l." They possess endless traditions of their litish origin. Their features are Jewish.[21]

These rigid police regulations were an early characteristic of Arab rule in ory cities.

Vambery's History of Bokhara, chap. ii.

See *ante*, vol. iii., chap. 5.

At the end of the tenth century the Afghans occupied the mountains of the Kúsh to the north of Kábul. See Ferishta's history of the reign of igin, vol. i., Briggs's Translation.

The present Amir of Afghanistan, Shere Ali Khan, in character and

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They perform sacrifices resembling the passover and scape-goat. They punish blasphemers by stoning. They divide the lands by lot amongst the families of a tribe after the manner described in the book of Numbers. They are much given to worship on high places.[22]

Conquest of Scinde: persecution and toleration.

The conquest of Scinde is the first recorded collision between Mussulmans and Hindús.[23] The Arabs had traded with India from a remote antiquity; they brought away cottons, spices, jc and female slaves. The war originated in a di about an Arab ship which had been detai Scinde, and which the Raja refused to restor Arabs began to make reprisals, and the wa took a religious form. Kásim, the general Arabs, offered the usual alternative, Islam or tri Both were refused, and the Arabs spent their upon the idolaters. Kásim circumcised many I mans by force, but they still refused to accept I He was so enraged at their obstinacy that he p

physiognomy is a type of Saul, the son of Kish, whom the Afghans ge claim as their ancestor.

[22] The evidences of the Jewish origin of the Afghans have been collec Dr Bellew, and will be found in the second chapter of his Journal of a P Mission to Afghanistan in 1857. London, 1862. The Afghans are said t descended from the Ten Tribes who were carried away by the king of A and placed amongst the cities of the Medes. But they are different men fr Jews of Arabia who had rejected Muhammad. The Jews of Arabia were ori colonists from Judæa and Jerusalem, who were expecting a Messiah of the of David, and refused to accept a son of Ishmael, like Muhammad, a Messiah. The Ten Tribes were a turbulent people, who had revolted fr house of David and knew nothing of a Messiah. Such men would becom converts to Islam.

[23] See especially the Fatúhul Buldán and Chach-náma translated in E History of India, edited by Professor Dowson, vol. i. Other histori Scinde are to be found in the same collection.

[24] The route taken by Kásim is somewhat obscure. It probably lay the coast of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in an easterly direction to the Indus.

leath all who were more than seventeen, and he en-
laved all who were under seventeen. The Raja of
Scinde advanced against him with a great army, but
as defeated and slain by the Arabs. Two daugh-
rs of the Raja were taken captive, and sent as a
resent to the Khalif of Damascus.[25] The widow of
he Raja made a last stand at the city of Bráhmaná-
id. The Rajpoot garrison was reduced to extremity,
erformed the rite of Johur;[26] the women
themselves alive with their children, whilst
en rushed out and perished sword in hand.
while the Hindús came to an understanding
e Arabs. They agreed to pay tribute; but
uestion of toleration was raised. The tem-
l been destroyed, worship had been forbid-
id the lands and money allowances of the
ans had been confiscated. Did the payment
tribute warrant the restoration of idolatry?
uestion was decided in favour of toleration;
he people were permitted to rebuild their tem-
and restore the worship of the gods; whilst
ráhmans recovered their lands and allowances.
nder this tolerant rule Kásim made friends
neighbouring Rajas, and projected an invasion
ndustan. But his career was suddenly brought
close. The two Rajpoot princesses had reach-
amascus; their beauty had touched the heart
e Khalif; but they accused Kásim of hav-
lishonoured them. The Khalif was furious.
sued orders that Kásim should be sewn up in
hide and sent to Damascus.[27] Kásim perished

Story of the two Rajpoot princesses.

[25] The invasion of Scinde took place in the reign of Walid the First, the sixth of the Omeyad dynasty.

[26] See *ante*, vol. iii., chap. vii.

[27] This mode of execution was one of the studied forms of torture which are

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on the way, but his remains were carried to the Khalif. The princesses were told of his death, and then said that he was innocent; they confessed that they had told a lie in order to be revenged on their father's murderer. They were put to a horrible death, but they had avenged the death of their father.[28]

Khalifs of Bagdad, 750-1258: Harún al Rashíd and Al Mamún, 786-833.

The Khalifs of Bagdad superseded the Khalifs of Damascus in 750 A.D. During the first co of their dominion they dazzled the eyes of E as well as of Asia. The reigns of Harún al R and Al Mamún lasted from 786 to 833; the the golden period of Arab dominion. Th Khalifs were heroes of the Arabian Nights; t temporaries of Ecgberht and Charles the They dwelt in palaces, gardens, and pavilio rounded by poets, wits, story-tellers, musicia beautiful women. They studied the sciences; patronized astronomers, chemists, mathemati philosophers, and historians. Every mosque ha school, and almost every town had its colleg university.[29]

peculiar to oriental nations. During the reign of Shah Abbás the Gre reigned over Persia towards the close of the sixteenth century, a refractory suffered in like manner. He was sewn up in a raw ox-hide, and daily fe the hide began to shrink from the heat of the sun, and he died in agony Olearius's Travels in Persia, Book vi., page 263.

[28] According to some histories the two girls were walled round with br left to starve to death. According to others they were dragged to death tails of horses. There is a conflict of authorities as to the length of the during which the Arabs occupied Scinde after the death of Kásim. See History of India, by Professor Dowson, vol. i.

[29] The reign of Harún al Rashíd is perhaps the culminating point o grandeur. His sovereignty, temporal as well as spiritual, was acknowledge the Mediterranean to the Indus, from the northern steppes to the Indian He defeated the armies of Rome, captured the island of Cyprus, and con the Emperor Nicephorus to pay him tribute. He sent an embassy to Char Great; amongst the presents was a water-clock, which excited the wo Europe. His patronage of learning has made him famous for all time. H

All this while the Arab language dominated over the Persian. It was the language of the Koran, and spread abroad with the Koran. It was the only language taught in the schools. Greek books were translated, not into Persian, but into Arabic. The Arab yoke pressed heavily upon the Persians, and signs of revolt began to appear. False prophets disturbed the minds of the masses. Mokanna, the "veiled prophet of Khorassan," and other fanatical preachers of the same type, opposed the prophet of the Arabs, and were followed by multitudes. Military adventurers, half hero and half brigand, were joined by lawless bands, and conquered whole provinces. In 870, a man of this stamp, known as Yakúb the brazier, became king of Persia, and set the Khalif of Bagdad at defiance. After twenty years he marched against Bagdad to dethrone the Arab Khalif, but perished on the way.[30] Other ephemeral dynasties sprang into existence, and then disappeared.

Tyranny of Arabic over Persian: the Persian revolt.

Meanwhile the Khalifs were helpless; their temporal power withered away; they dwindled into

Collapse of the Arab Khalifat.

built a mosque without adding a school to it. He was known to Christendom as "Aaron the sage."

But amidst all this outward pomp and splendour there were skeletons in the court at Bagdad. Plots, intrigues, and treachery were ever at work. One day a viceroy might be in rebellion; on the morrow one of his own followers might carry his bleeding head to the Khalif. One day a minister might be treated as a confidential friend; on the morrow he might be put to death with all his family. One day a favourite mistress might be flattered, caressed, and indulged in every whim; on the morrow she might be sewn in a sack weighted with stones, and dropped in the Tigris. The tales of the Arabian Nights make frequent reference to illicit love and cruel murder; they are but the reflex of the depravity which prevailed in the pavilions and gardens of Bagdad.

[30] The career of Yakúb, the brazier of Seistan, is very obscure. In some respects it bears a strange resemblance to that of Kaveh the blacksmith, the hero of the Shâh Nâmeh, who overthrew Zohák the Arab usurper and placed Feridun upon the throne of Persia. The point will be brought under review hereafter. See Appendix I., Shâh Nâmeh.

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pontiffs, grasping at the shadow of authority when its substance was wanting. They affected to treat the new rulers as viceroys under the Khalifat; sent them dresses of honour and insignia of investiture; instigated them to make war upon each other; and waited vainly for the time when they could depose these rebellious vassals, and recover their temporal sovereignty.

Persian revival under the Sámáni, 900-1000.

Towards the end of the ninth century the Persian revival was associated with the Sámáni empire of Bokhara. The history of this empire is obscure, but significant. Ismail Sámáni, the founder of the dynasty, was a Persian by birth and Mussulman by religion.[31] He established his authority over Bokhara; after the death of Yakúb, he extended it over Khorassan, and other Persian territories to the westward. The Sámáni dynasty lasted throughout the whole of the tenth century. During that period the Persian language was driving back the Arabic. It took the place of Arabic in the colleges and schools. Poets and other literati composed their works in Persian. Even theologians, who reverenced Arabic as the language of the Koran, began to write their commentaries in Persian. From that day to this the Arabic has never regained its hold on Persian territory.[32]

Turkish uprising: slaves became masters.

Meantime there was a new element at work in Central Asia; it was destined to overwhelm Persian and Arab, and extend its dominion to East-

[31] The Sámánis were not Shíahs, but Sunnís. The Shíah religion seems to have been in great disfavour at this period. All the military leaders that came to the front were professed Sunnís. Firdusi the poet was a Sunní, although he was strongly suspected of Shíah tendencies.

[32] Vambery has discussed the Persian revival at considerable length History of Bokhara.

ern Europe. This was the Turkish uprising; one of the most important revolutions in modern Asiatic history. From a remote antiquity the Turks have overflowed the steppes and highlands of the north and north-east, and pressed towards Central Asia. Under the Sámáni rule, independent tribes and individual adventurers were more or less on the move; but large numbers of Turks were also sold as slaves throughout Central and Western Asia. They were strong, brave, and generally faithful. They became zealous believers in Islam. Consequently they were often treated with peculiar favour, and promoted to offices of trust and responsibility. At Bagdad the Khalifs formed body guards of Turkish slaves, and relied upon them for protection against rebellion or treachery. But the body guards were soon conscious of their strength, and grew into masters. They became Mamelukes, and deposed and appointed Khalifs at will. A similar revolution was in progress in the empire of the Sámáni princes. The Turks were at first a source of strength to the Persian revival. They were good servants so long as they were held in by the strong hand of Ismail Sámáni. Under his successors they began to prove dangerous. A Turkish slave named Alptigín, who had been brought up in the royal household at Bokhara, was appointed governor of Khorassan. He interfered in the succession to the throne at Bokhara; but he was defeated. Accordingly he fled over the Turko- desert from Khorassan to Kábul, and founded kingdom in the city of Ghazní.

Foundation of the Turkish kingdom of

The Turkish kingdom of Ghazní or Kábul plays important part in the history of Mussulman

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Ghazní: first collision between Turk and Hindú.

India. It was separated from the Punjab by the river Indus. The Turks of Ghazní were on the western side of the Indus; the Rajpoots of the Punjab were on the eastern side.[33] A collision between the two was inevitable. It did not, however, begin in the reign of Alptigín, but in that of his successor Sabaktigín.[34] The story of the early wars is of little interest; one campaign, the most important of them all, may be taken as a type. On this occasion Sabaktigín was accompanied by his son Mahmúd, who afterwards became famous as the first Mussulman conqueror in India.

War between Sabaktigín and Jaipál.

Jaipál was Raja of the Punjab. Sabaktigín had raided his territory; in return Jaipál invaded Ghazní territory. The two armies were arrayed against each other, but there was no battle. The Rajpoot host was scattered by a storm, and Jaipál was forced to sue for peace. Sabaktigín was inclined to make terms. His son Mahmúd was opposed to any peace. He was anxious to humble the pride of the Rajpoot by a victory which should glorify Islam in the eyes of the idolaters. Jaipál, however, sent messengers saying, that unless peace was made, he and his kinsmen would die like Rajpoots. They would put out the eyes of all their elephants,

[33] The Rajpoots were also in possession of territories on the western bank of the Indus to the northward of the Kábul river; but it is difficult to map the exact limits, and the point is of no importance.

[34] Sabaktigín was originally a Turkish slave, who rose in the favour of Alptigín. After the death of Alptigín in 975, Sabaktigín married his daughter and succeeded to the throne of Ghazní. It is curious that both Alptigín and Sabaktigín should have been originally slaves and eventually kings. So Joseph was sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites and rose to be the vizier of Pharaoh. The scandal as regards Potiphar's wife is wanting in Mussulman history; but it is not wanting in the domestic life of the modern Usbegs. See Abbott's Journey from Herat to Khiva, vol. i., chap. 3. Also Appendix to

slaughter their wives and children, destroy all their treasures, and then fall to and perish sword in hand. Nothing should be left the Mussulmans but dust and ashes, dead bodies and scattered bones. Sabaktigín then made a peace. Jaipál promised to give money, jewels, and elephants, and to cede a certain territory; and hostages were exchanged for the fulfilment of the conditions. CHAPTER I.

But Jaipál played falsely. He was not a Kshatriya, but a Bráhman; and he listened to the evil counsel of other Bráhmans. He returned to his city of Lahore, which is the capital of the Punjab; and there he broke his promises, imprisoned the hostages, and summoned all the Rajas far and wide to come and help him.[35] A vast array was gathered together; a host of horse, foot, and elephants crossed the river Indus, and encamped like locusts in the plain of Peshawar. But the levies had been assembled in haste; they were badly equipped and little better than a mob. Sabaktigín sought to pierce their centre. He divided his army into tròops of five hundred horse each, and ordered each troop to charge in succession until the Hindús were wearied out. He then united the whole in a general [redacted]ge and drove the invaders into the Indus. Treachery of Jaipál: triumph of Sabaktigín.

[redacted]he Pál Rajas of the Punjab appear at this period to have had all the [redacted]f Hindustan at their beck and call as far eastward as Kalinjar near Alla-[redacted]and as far southward as Ujain on the slope of the Vindhya mountains. [redacted]unjab was an outlying kingdom of the Rajpoot league of defence; the first [redacted]ould have to resist any invader from the north-west. The Pál Rajas would [redacted]old the leadership of the Rajpoot league of defence. The fact is brought [redacted]ore prominently hereafter in dealing with the campaigns of Mahmúd.

[redacted]e Rajpoot kingdoms at this period were Lahore, Delhi, Kanouj, Gwalior, [redacted]ar, Ajmír, and Ujain. An irregular line drawn in a south-east direction [redacted]Lahore would run through Gwalior and Kanouj to Kalinjar. Another [redacted]rawn due south or south-west from Delhi would run through Ajmír to

CHAPTER I. Slave or no slave, Sabaktigín was a soldier. Peace was made between the Turk and the Rajpoot, but Sabaktigín guarded against future attacks. Henceforth he held the Khaiber pass by maintaining ten thousand horsemen in the plain of Peshawar.[36]

Death of Sabaktigín, 997: a landmark in Asiatic history.

Sabaktigín died in 997. His reign has been overshadowed by the more brilliant career of his son Mahmúd, but it is a land-mark in Asiatic annals. A new era was about to dawn. The Turk was beginning to play his part in history; to take the leadership of Islam; to carry on the war against Brahmanism on the east, and Christianity on the west, which has continued down to our own time.

Characteristics of the history of Mussulman India.

The history of the Mussulmans during the four centuries between Muhammad and Mahmúd is thus brought to a close. The campaigns of Mahmúd open up a new era; he established a permanent dominion in India. There were frequent changes of dynasty. The Afghan succeeded to the Turk, and the Moghul succeeded to the Afghan; but from the days of Mahmúd the Mussulmans never lost their hold on India. For eight centuries the Mussulmans were the strongest people in India, and alth[illegible] they have ceased to be the paramount power, dominion lingers to this day.[37]

Four epochs.

The history of Mussulman India may be m[illegible]

[36] Táríkh Yamíní of Utbí. Elliot's History, edited by Dowson, vol.

[37] There are traditions that both Muhammad Kásim and Sab[illegible] established a dominion in India, but the point is of minor importance. T[illegible] is undoubted that Mahmúd founded an empire, and he is generally reg[illegible] the first Mussulman conqueror of India. It might be added that the Mop[illegible] other Mussulmans settled on the Malabar coast as early as the seventh ce[illegible] the Christian era. These waifs and strays of history are obscure in then[illegible] but they will be found hereafter to throw some light on existing populatio[illegible]

out into four epochs, representing four stages of development. In the language of Mussulmans they would be termed the Sunní, the Shíah, the Súfí, and the Sunní revival. In popular language they might be termed the orthodox, the schismatical, the heretical, and the puritanical.[38]

Sunní or orthodox period.

The Sunní or orthodox element found expression during the Mussulman conquest of the Punjab and Hindustan; namely, from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. The Sunnís believed in God as a personal ruler; in Muhammad as his prophet; in the four Khalifs as the rightful successors of Muhammad. During this period, with the exception of one significant revolt, the Hindú element worked but feebly.

Shíah or schismatic period.

The Shíah or schismatical element found expression after the Mussulman conquest of the Dekhan; namely, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The Shíahs rejected the four Khalifs; they urged that Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, and Hasan and Husain, the sons of Ali, were the only rightful successors of the prophet. They were imbued with a sentimental devotion towards Ali and his two sons, which grew into reverence and worship. During this period the Hindú element worked strongly.

Súfí, or heretical period.

The Súfí or heretical element found expression

[38] Hitherto the history of the Mussulman empire in India has been divided according to dynasties. Such a division, however, is without historical meaning. The reigns of individual Sultans are valuable, because they present types of character. But the history of Mussulman dynasties, however interesting to their descendants, awakens neither associations nor ideas in the minds of general readers. They burden the memory with catalogues of names which indicate nothing and suggest nothing; they throw no light whatever upon the political and religious developments during the periods that they exercised sovereign sway.

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during the establishment of the Moghul empire in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Súfí religion was a development of the Shíah. It received its impetus from the old Persian worship of fire and the sun which worked beneath the crust of Islam. It spiritualized the Koran. God became the supreme spirit. Muhammad, his son-in-law Ali, and his grandsons Hasan and Husain, became incarnations of the supreme spirit. The heaven of houris symbolized the rapture of communion with the supreme spirit. Man was the lover, God the beloved; the lover and the beloved were one. During this period Hinduism worked its strongest. It imbued Mussulman thinkers with a belief in the transmigrations of the soul; in the final union of the soul with the supreme spirit. It brought the worship of Ali and his two sons, as incarnations of God, into harmony with the worship of Rama and Krishna, as incarnations of Vishnu. But the movement failed to reconcile Mussulmans and Hindús. It drifted into indifference and scepticism, and was finally swamped in a religious revival.

Sunní reaction, or puritanical period.

The Sunní or puritanical reaction naturally followed the reign of scepticism and immorality. It found expression during the culmination and decadence of the Moghul empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was a revival of orthodox religion in a puritanical form. The Moghul rule became bitterly hostile to the Shíahs. It harassed, insulted, and maddened the Hindús. It wasted its strength against enemies within and without the pale of Islam. In the eighteenth century it shrivelled into a pageant. It lingered on till the middle of the nineteenth century under

shadow of British supremacy, and finally perished in the mutiny of Fifty-seven.[39] CHAPTER I.

[39] The general history of Hindú India has been treated in previous volumes. It has been divided into epochs, but cannot be reduced to chronological annals. The history of Mussulman India however imparts life and sequence to later Hindú legend. This is strongly marked in Southern India. Accordingly Hindú history is separately dealt with in the fourth chapter of the present volume.

CHAPTER II.

SUNNÍ CONQUEST OF THE PUNJAB AND HINDUSTAN. A.D. 1001 TO 1526.

CHAPTER II.

Invaded and invaders.

BEFORE tracing out the progress of the Mussulman conquest in India, it may be as well to bring under review the chief characteristics of the invaded and the invaders.

Characteristics of the Hindús.

The Hindús were children of the past; the outcome of an age when mankind was governed by priests, and priests were reverenced as gods. From a remote antiquity they had been the slaves of a civilization which crushed out all historical life, and turned men and women into automata.[1] They were grouped into families, villages, castes, and hereditary tribes and professions; and they had no political developments outside these charmed circles. They lived in narrow grooves from the cradle to the burning ghát; generation followed generation in dull monotony. The Indian continent was divided amongst a number of little kingdoms, each having its own Raja, its own military aristocracy, and its own Brahmanical hierarchy. There was a family likeness between them all, but

[1] It will be seen hereafter that some of these remarks are not applicable to the Rajpoots. The Rajpoots, as already seen, were the first Hindús whom the Mussulmans had to encounter.

no family ties. Congeries of kingdoms were sometimes linked together in an empire by a conqueror like Asóka or Síláditya; but the links were always liable to be broken, and then the kingdoms returned to their original isolation. There were differences of language; consequently there must have been differences of race; but all had become more or less Brahmanized. There were no living nationalities bound together by a common patriotism. The masses had stagnated in insulated communities under the common name of Hindús. They had played out their parts in the world that had passed away; they had outlived their history.

Rajpoots eastward of the Indus.

The Rajpoots were perhaps an exception. They, too, were an ancient people, but they were warriors and conquerors, imbued with a love for chivalrous adventure. Their aristocracy was feudal; and traces still remain of constitutional forms. They were a proud people, with a keen sense of honour. They preferred death to shame or disgrace; if defeat was inevitable, they slaughtered their wives and children, and perished sword in hand. The Rajpoots were the first Hindús that the Mussulmans encountered after crossing the Indus. The Rajpoot pale extended from the river Indus eastward to the neighbourhood of Allahabad, and southward to the slopes of the Vindhya range.[2] Relics of their dominion are, however, to be found in the remotest jungles of the Dekhan and Peninsula, but Rajpoot

[2] There is some difficulty about the eastern frontier of the Rajpoot pale. Kalinjar is the furthest kingdom to the eastward which is said to have sent its quota to fight in the Rajpoot league against Sabaktigín and Mahmúd. The fortress of Kalinjar is situated in Bundelkund to the south of Allahabad. At a later period the empire of Kanouj is said to have extended to an indefinite distance to the eastward of Allahabad. See *infra*.

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history prior to the advent of the Mussulmans is buried in myth and legend.[3]

Mussulmans westward of the Indus.

The Mussulmans westward of the Indus might be called a new people; their history was only beginning. The Turks were becoming the prevailing type; they were fresh from the northern steppes. The mixed populations—Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Afghans[4]—had been quickened into new life by the Mussulman religion; all may be included under the general term of Mussulmans. They were hardy, enterprising, and warlike; greedy after plunder and dominion. Their political organization was loose; but their common belief in Islam bound them together in a sort of nationality.[5]

Mahmúd of Ghazní, 997-1030.

Mahmúd, the son of Sabaktigín, succeeded to the throne of Ghazní in 997 A.D. He was thirty years of age; he was already the foremost Asiatic prince of his generation. He was sovereign of Kábul and Kandahar. On the west he held possession of Khorassan; but on the north he was threatened by Bokhara.[6] From the first he appears to

[3] Ancient traditions of Rajpoots and other Hindús are treated in vols. i. and ii. The traditions of their later history have been brought under general review in vol. iii.

[4] Persians, Arabs, and Turks appear to have intermarried. Thus Mahmúd of Ghazní was the son of a Turk by a Persian woman. The Afghans, however, like Jews in general, have preserved the purity of their race.

[5] The political status of the oases of Central Asia had frequently changed. Thus in the eighth century Khorassan, Bokhara, and Kábul had become provinces of the Arab empire of the Khalifat. In the ninth century they were being formed into independent kingdoms. In the tenth century they were included in the Sámáni empire of Bokhara. In the eleventh century they fell under the dominion of Mahmúd of Ghazní. Subsequently they formed part of the empire of the Seljuk Turks.

[6] A number of petty details are related by Mussulman historians, which are useful as illustrations of the history of Central Asia, but interrupt the main story of Mussulman conquest in India. Thus Mahmúd was not a legitimate son; his mother was only a Persian slave-girl. His younger half-brother Ismail was the legitimate heir, and succeeded Sabaktigín, but was soon ousted from the throne

have planned the conquest of the Punjab. His military position was far better than that of Alexander of Macedon. He was master in Kábul, and Ghazní was the basis of his operations. His Turks were splendid horsemen, and were familiar with Indian warfare. But he had one difficulty. Whilst he was absent in the Punjab his dominions in Central Asia were exposed to attacks from the north and westward. Until therefore the after part of his reign, when he had conquered all Central Asia, his wars were little better than raids, and he was liable at any moment to be recalled to Ghazní.

Advance of the Mussulmans to Peshawar: defeat and death of Jaipál.

In November, 1001, Mahmúd moved his army down the valley of the Kábul river, and halted in the plain of Peshawar. He would not, however, bring all his forces into the field. He picked out ten thousand of his best horsemen, and sent the remainder back to Ghazní. The result is told in glowing language by the Mussulman historian.[7] "The horsemen of Mahmúd were as brave as lions, and as fierce as dragons. The infidel Jaipál came up from the eastward, and crossed the Indus with a vast array of horse and foot and elephants. He thought to overwhelm the believers; he had yet to learn that when God gives the order a small army can overcome a great host. The believers began

by Mahmúd and imprisoned for life. Again, the Sámáni dominion of Bokhara had passed into the hands of a ruler named Elik Khan. Mahmúd formed an alliance with Elik Khan, and took his daughter in marriage; but whilst he was absent in India, Elik Khan tried to seize Khorassan. It is needless to follow these details; it will suffice to say that Mahmúd ultimately conquered Bokhara. Compare Ferishta, translated by Briggs; also Elliot's History, vol. ii.

[7] Táríkh Yamíní. Elliot's History of India, vol. ii. The passage in inverted commas is a condensed paraphrase. There is a conflict of authorities as regards the number of horsemen in Mahmúd's army; some say ten thousand, others fifteen thousand.

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the battle. Before noon thousands of the idolaters had become the prey of beasts and birds. Elephants were lying helpless; their legs pierced with arrows, and their trunks cut about with swords. Jaipál was taken prisoner with all his kinsmen. When the battle was over, these enemies of God were despoiled of all their jewels, bound with ropes, and paraded before the Sultan. Some were dragged by the cheek; others were driven by blows. In this manner they were put to shame, and Mahmúd triumphed over the idolater. Jaipál made over fifty elephants to his conqueror, and agreed to send a yearly tribute to Ghazní; he then returned to Lahore. But Jaipál could not live after his disgrace. He had been a captive in the hands of the enemy, and never could reign again. He gave his kingdom to his son Anandpál, and then ordered a pile of wood to be made ready. The pile was set on fire, and Jaipál threw himself upon it and perished in the flames."

Anandpál tributary to Mahmúd: the Rajpoot league.

For some time afterwards Anandpál was submissive to Mahmúd. He sent his yearly tribute to Ghazní, and was suffered to remain at peace. But Mahmúd was engaged in other wars, and watching other enemies; and Anandpál grew refractory and defiant, and stirred up other Rajas to help him against the Turks. The Rajas of Delhi and Ajmír, of Ujain and Gwalior, of Kalinjar and Kanouj, collected all their armies and led them into the Punjab. The Rajpoots, one and all, were filled with hatred against the Turks. There was no dissension and no quarrel. Even the women joined in the enthusiasm, and sold their jewels or spun their cotton in order to keep the armies in the field.

Spirit of the Rajpoot league.

Many Rajas had been friendly with Alexander,

but they all hated Mahmúd. When Alexander invaded India, rival princes submitted and prayed for his support. He was no enemy to their religion, and neither women nor Bráhmans had anything to fear. But Mahmúd had come to destroy temples, to break down idolatry, and to carry away men and women into slavery. Accordingly the Rajpoot princes were united against him as one man, and the women were as eager as the men.

Mussulman victory at Peshawar.

Mahmúd knew his danger and took measures accordingly. He entrenched his camp in the plain of Peshawar, having his archers in front and his cavalry behind. For forty days the Turks and Rajpoots were encamped face to face. Meantime the Rajpoots received daily re-enforcements; even the wild tribes from the northern mountains, known as the Gakkars, came down to help them against the invaders. At last Mahmúd put his army in battle-array, and ordered the archers to begin the fight. At that moment the infidel Gakkars got behind the archers, and began to cut down the Turkish horsemen with their sharp knives. Many fell, but meantime the Turkish archers were doing great execution. They blinded the elephants with their arrows, and assailed them with fire-balls, until the maddened brutes trampled down the Hindú infantry and caused utter confusion. Then Mahmúd ordered his cavalry to charge. The horsemen raised their swords and maces, and galloped down upon the Hindús with loud cries of "Allah Akber!" The Hindús wavered and fled. The believers pursued them for two days and two nights, pillaging and slaughtering. They plundered the great temple of Nagarkot on the hill Kangra, and destroyed all the

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idols.[8] At last Anandpál sued for peace, and sent tribute and war elephants; and the peace lasted all the days of Anandpál.[9]

Destruction of Thánesar: Mahmúd annexes the Punjab.

Meanwhile Mahmúd resolved to destroy the temple of Thánesar.[10] Anandpál sent provisions for his army, but prayed him to spare Thánesar. Mahmúd replied:—'How can I spare Thánesar when God has ordered that idolatry should be destroyed?' So the Sultan plundered the temple of Thánesar, broke down the idols, and then returned to Ghazní. After this Anandpál died, and the Sultan annexed the Punjab, and made it a province of his kingdom of Ghazní.

Mahmúd's invasions of Hindustan.

When Mahmúd had established his dominion in the Punjab, he marched an army into Hindustan, and threatened the cities of Kanouj on the Ganges and Mathurá on the Jumna.[11] He spared Kanouj because the Raja made his submission; he even concluded an alliance with the Raja. But at Mathurá he plundered the temples and broke down the idols. In this way the Sultan invaded India

[8] Nagarkot was situated upon the upper courses of the Raví and Sutlej, near the very spot where Alexander was compelled to turn back by his discontented Macedonians.

[9] The second defeat of Anandpál illustrates the fitful character of the Hindú people. They had marched against Mahmúd of Ghazní in a sudden burst of enthusiasm, but when defeated they resigned themselves to their fate. Anandpál became a tributary vassal, and the great cities fell back into their monotonous repose.

[10] Thánesar was situated about a hundred and twenty miles to the north of the city of Delhi. See Elliot's History of India, vol. ii., Appendix D.

[11] The strategy of Mahmúd is remarkable. The three successive stages in the invasion of Hindustan from the north-west have already been indicated. (See *ante*, vol. iii., chap. i.) The first line was held by the Raja of Delhi, who seems to have been a powerful sovereign. The second line was represented by Kanouj and Mathurá; the latter city being over-against Agra. Mahmúd avoided a collision with Delhi. He marched due east along the southern slopes of the Himalayas as far as the upper stream of the Ganges, and then elbowed towards the south and fell upon Kanouj and Mathurá without coming into collision with Delhi.

twelve times; some say sixteen times. Every time he returned to Ghazní with heaps of gold and jewels, and such a multitude of slaves that Ghazní appeared like an Indian city. Every soldier had many slaves, male and female.[12]

Expedition against Somnáth in Guzerat.

When Mahmúd was growing old he was bent on destroying the temple of Somnáth in the land of Guzerat.[13] This temple was one of the holiest in India. The idolaters said that Somnáth, the Moon-god, had set up an idol pillar there in honour of Iswara;[14] and that Somnáth caused the tides to ebb and flow in worship of the pillar. Every day the pillar was washed with holy water from the Ganges. Every new and full moon there was great worship. But every time the moon was eclipsed multitudes of pilgrims came to worship the pillar and bathe in the sea. A thousand Bráhmans dwelt at Somnáth to offer sacrifice. Five hundred damsels, many of whom were daughters of Rajas, were dwelling within the temple to dance and sing before the idol pillar.

Sacking of Ajmír.

The idolaters had stirred up the wrath of Mahmúd against Somnáth. They said that Somnáth was offended with the other gods and therefore per-

[12] The minor expeditions of Mahmúd are devoid of historical significance. They are little better than repetitions of the same story of plunder, idol-breaking, and slavery. From antiquarian and geographical points of view, the routes which he followed are exceptionally interesting. The student may be referred to the valuable essay on the expeditions of Mahmúd, by Professor Dowson, which seems to exhaust the subject. It forms Appendix D to Elliot's History of India, vol. ii.

[13] Somnáth was about a thousand miles from Ghazní. From Ghazní to Múltan, on the southern frontier of the Punjab, the route was comparatively easy. From Múltan to Guzerat the country was desert. The eastern route, viâ Ajmír, was the easiest, and Mahmúd adopted it in his march to Guzerat. The western route lay through the burning sands of Scinde, and it will be seen that Mahmúd was compelled to return this way.

[14] Iswara is the same as Siva. See *ante*, vol. ii. chap. viii.

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mitted Mahmúd to destroy them.[15] Then Mahmúd swore that he would destroy Somnáth, and teach the idolaters that there was no God but Allah, and that Muhammad was his prophet. He marched from Ghazní to Multan with thirty thousand horsemen. He gathered together thirty thousand camels and loaded them with corn and water; for beyond Multan the land was desert. When all was ready the Sultan went to Somnáth. On the way he sacked the city of Ajmír;[16] for the Raja of Ajmír and all his people had gone out of the city in great fear when they heard of his coming. After this he saw many forts with idols inside, which were chamberlains and heralds to the god of Somnáth, and as he went he destroyed them all.

Halt at Somnáth.

The Sultan and his horsemen halted before Somnáth on a Thursday. The temple was guarded like a fortress because of its treasures. It stood upon a headland out at sea. The waves washed three of its sides; and the fourth side, which joined on the main, was fortified with walls and battlements and manned with Rajpoots. When the Mussulmans galloped up the Rajpoots scoffed at them, saying:—"The god of Somnáth will destroy you all."

The battle.

On Friday the battle began. The Turkish

[15] This expression is exactly what temple Bráhmans would use. Mathurá was the cradle of the worship of Krishna as Vishnu. Somnáth was a centre of the worship of Siva. When, therefore, it was told at Somnáth that Mahmúd had destroyed the idols at Mathurá, the Saivite Bráhmans explained that Siva had wreaked his vengeance upon Vishnu.

[16] Ajmír was situated about half way between Delhi and Ujain. Ajmír had sent its quota to assist both Jaipál and Anandpál; but had never been previously attacked by Mahmúd. When Mahmúd returned to his own country, the Rajpoots of Ajmír were in full force, and compelled him to take the route through the western desert.

archers drove the Rajpoots from the battlements, whilst the swordsmen planted their ladders and climbed the walls, crying "Allah Akber." Then they fought the Rajpoots with great slaughter until the night closed in and they could see no longer.

Flight of the Rajpoots.

On Saturday the battle was renewed. The Sultan prostrated himself upon the ground before all his army and prayed to God for victory.[17] The battle raged in front of the gateway. The Rajpoots fought like devils, but the believers gained the mastery. Many Rajpoots ran into the temple, threw themselves down before the pillar, implored the god for help, and then ran back and perished sword in hand. At last the Rajpoots saw that all was lost, fled to their boats, and put out to sea.

The temple and its treasures.

When the fight was over, Sultan Mahmúd and his chief men entered the temple, whilst the Bráhmans clamoured around them. The temple was large, but as gloomy as a cave, for there was only one lamp. The roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, which were graven with images and set with precious stones. Many bells were also hanging by a golden chain to call the Bráhmans to worship. The Sultan passed through the temple, and entered the inner chamber; he saw the idol pillar which was nine feet high above the ground. The Bráhmans clamoured more than ever, and offered heaps of gold if he would spare the idol. Mahmúd cried out:—"I come not to sell idols, but to destroy them." Then he raised his mace and struck the idol pillar; and it

[17] According to Ferishta the Rajpoots at Somnáth had received large re-enforcements.

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was broken into pieces, and piles of rubies and diamonds were found in that place.[18]

Sultan Mahmúd stayed a whole year in Guzerat. He delighted in its gardens, orchards, and green fields; and would have built a city there, but it was too far from Ghazní. He placed a Hindú prince upon the throne of Guzerat, and then tried to return to Multan by the way of Ajmír; but the Rajpoots of Ajmír attacked him in great force, and the guides led him astray into sandy wastes where there was no water. Many believers went mad from the burning sun; others died of thirst. The guides confessed that they had revenged the destruction of Somnáth, and were straightway put to death. Then Mahmúd prayed for water, and water was found; and the Sultan went on to Multan, and so returned to Ghazní.[19]

Return of Mahmúd: Somnáth avenged.

[18] The idol pillar was a huge linga or phallus, which was worshipped as a symbol of the supreme being who created the universe, and who was known by the various names of Iswara, Mahadeva, and Siva. From a strange association of ideas connected with the belief in the transmigration of souls, this supreme being was believed to be the judge of the dead. Accordingly the souls of all departed beings were supposed to assemble at Somnáth, and were sent into new existences according to the sum of their merits or demerits. There is some confusion between the moon god and the emblem of Siva which cannot be clearly explained.

Ferishta describes the idol as an image, and states that Mahmúd broke it in pieces, and obtained a pile of jewels which were hidden in the belly. Older authorities describe it as a solid pillar, and say nothing of the jewels inside it. The pillar however was garnished with gold and jewels, which may have formed part of the treasure. Portions of the pillar were carried away to Ghazní, and formed into a step at the entrance of the Jámi-masjid, to be trodden under-foot by believers. See Professor Dowson's valuable paper on Mahmúd's Expeditions. Elliot's History, vol. ii. Appendix, note v. Professor H. Wilson implies that Ferishta invented the story. The authority of Ferishta may sometimes be open to doubt; but he was a zealous Shiah, and as such was not likely to invent a story for the glorification of Mahmúd. He may have been misled.

[19] According to Ferishta Mahmúd indulged in a dream of Indian conquest. There were said to be gold mines in Guzerat; he also heard that there were gold mines in Ceylon and Burma. Accordingly he proposed giving up his kingdom at Ghazní to his son, and founding an empire in Guzerat. He thought of building a fleet in Guzerat, and conquering Ceylon and Burma. He found, however, that his ministers and army were averse to the scheme, and abandoned the idea.

Character of Mahmúd.

The name of Mahmúd of Ghazní is still famous in Hindustan. The Mussulmans praise him as a hero of Islam. He destroyed idols, and converted temples into mosques; but love of money was his master passion. He was a patron of poets and learned men. He employed Firdusi to compose the Sháh Námeh; but he disgusted Firdusi with his meanness, by paying him in silver when he expected gold. In revenge the poet scoffed at his low birth.[20] Mahmúd built many mosques and palaces at Ghazní with fountains and gardens; he also founded a university with a library and museum. One mosque was celebrated throughout the East. It was built of granite and marble, decked with gold and silver, and furnished with rich carpets and candelabra. It was named the 'Heavenly Bride.'

Political ideas of Mahmúd.

Mahmúd died in 1030, aged sixty-three. He was a contemporary of Swegn and Knut. He was a man of genius, ambition, and energy. As he grew older he softened towards the Hindús. In the beginning of his reign he treated Jaipál with great brutality. Later on he formed an alliance with the Raja of Kanouj. When he left Guzerat he appointed a Hindú prince to rule that country. Possibly he may have been only actuated by political views. Possibly he set up Kanouj as a counterpoise to Delhi, and as a means for opening up Hindustan. In like manner he may have looked

[20] The Sháh Námeh marks an epoch in Mussulman history. It is an expression of the Persian revolt from the Arab yoke. It consists of Persian traditions or romances related in the Persian language. To this day its heroes and heroines are household words throughout Persia, Central Asia, and Mussulman India. It has done much towards softening and civilizing the Mussulmans. The early conquerors were inspired by the bigotry of the Koran; the later conquerors have been inspired by the more tolerant spirit of the Sháh Námeh. For a further account of the Sháh Námeh, see Appendix I.

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to Guzerat as an opening into the Dekhan and Peninsula. But one important fact must always be borne in mind; the Hindús have a power of conciliating their conquerors beyond any other nation. The Arabs never tolerated the Persians as they tolerated the Hindús of Scinde. The English have inclined more towards the Hindús than to any other subject race. The Hindús disarm their conquerors and propitiate them by submission, patience, and helplessness. They are thus often treated as women or children rather than as men; yet those who have lived the longest amongst Hindús are most alive to their virtues and tolerant of their ways.

Hindús conciliate their conquerors.

Mahmúd died in 1030, and the glory of Ghazní died with him. The history of Mussulman India during the century and a half which followed is of no value. It may be treated as a blank. Annals might possibly be compiled, but few would care to read them. They form a record of names without associations, and of wars without significance. In 1180 the mist begins to clear; but, notwithstanding the lapse of time, the world of Central Asia and India had undergone very little change. The Afghans had come to the front; they had demolished Ghazní; they had overthrown the Turkish house of Mahmúd; they had founded a new dynasty:—and that was all.[21]

Blank in Mussulman history after Mahmúd, 1030-1180.

[21] It would be useless to dilate upon the petty affairs of Ghor and Ghazní. They would only weary the reader, and would throw no light upon the history of Mussulman India. Muhammad Ghori came to the front about 1180, but did not take possession of Delhi until 1193, which is generally regarded as the date of his accession to the throne of Delhi.

It may here be mentioned that, unless otherwise expressed, the history of Mussulman India is based upon that of Ferishta, translated by Briggs, and the valuable annals, translated by Sir H. M. Elliot, Professor Dowson, and others,

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Muhammad Ghori,1180-1206: wars against the Rajpoots.

Muhammad Ghori[22] was Sultan of the new Afghan kingdom. He filled the void which was left by Mahmúd. The Mussulman kingdom still included the Punjab as well as Kábul. Eastward of the Punjab the political status of the Rajpoots was almost the same as at the death of Mahmúd. There was still the old rivalry between Delhi and Kanouj; but Delhi was the stronger of the two, because she had been united with the southern kingdom of Ajmír. Prithi Raja was the sovereign of Delhi and Ajmír; Jai Chand was the sovereign of Kanouj.

In 1191 Muhammad Ghori marched an army against Prithi Raja. A great battle was fought at Thánesar. The Afghan Sultan tried the old tactics of piercing the Hindú centre; but the Rajpoots outflanked him, surrounded his army and cut it to pieces. Muhammad Ghori was compelled to fly back to the Punjab. Jai Chand, however, began to intrigue against his Delhi rival. He invited Muhammad Ghori to renew the war. This time Muhammad Ghori gained the victory. Prithi Raja was taken prisoner and murdered in cold blood. Delhi and Ajmír were both captured by the Mussulmans, and thousands of people were slaughtered.

Defeat and death of Prithi Raja of Delhi, 1193.

Jai Chand paid dearly for his treachery. He was a Rajpoot sovereign of the type of Síláditya and Asoka. His empire included Benares, and stretched

Defeat and death of Jai Chand of Kanouj.

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which have been published of late years under the title of "History of India as told by its own Historians; edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, by Professor John Dowson." (London: Trübner & Co., 1867—75). Briggs' Ferishta forms four volumes 8vo; Elliot's History already extends to six volumes 8vo, and two more have yet to be published.

[22] The Afghans had established their independence at Ghor, a mountain fortress between Ghazní and Herat. Hence the Sultan was named Muhammad Ghori. In the early part of his career he was known by the title of Shahâb-uddín; but his later name is alone used in the text to prevent confusion.

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far away to the eastward towards Bengal.[23] In 1194 Muhammad Ghori advanced against him, defeated him, and drove him into the Ganges. The Mussulmans then advanced still further to the eastward towards Benares, and broke down idols and plundered temples. The story of the campaign is told by the Rajpoot bard.[24] The Rahtore of Kanoúj was at feud with the Chohan of Delhi. He invited the Mussulman to capture Delhi, and he was duly punished by the loss of his kingdom and his life.[25]

Rise of Kutb-ud-dín.

The right hand man of Muhammad Ghori was Kutb-ud-dín. This man had been bought as a slave, but rose to the command of armies. He led the vanguard of the army which routed the host of Jai Chand. When Muhammad Ghori returned to Ghazní, he left Kutb-ud-dín as his viceroy in Mussulman India.

Muhammad Ghori assassinated by Gakkars, 1206.

Muhammad Ghori was killed by assassins. He had been harassed by the Gakkars, the same mountaineers who had cut down the horsemen of Mah-

[23] According to the history of Ibn Asir the empire of Jai Chand extended from Malwa to the borders of China. Its western frontier was within ten days journey of Lahore. Eastward it reached the Bay of Bengal. (Elliot's History of India, vol. ii.) This description is somewhat vague. The empire of Jai Chand may, however, have included many vassal kingdoms to the eastward that became independent after his overthrow. Ferishta states that Muhammad Ghori only reached the frontier of Bengal. It will presently be seen that Bengal was subsequently conquered by Muhammad Bakhtiyar.

[24] See *ante*, vol. iii. chap. vii.

[25] Jai Chand is perhaps the last of the Rajpoot kings who can be referred to the Buddhist era. He kept a white elephant at Benares, which was a relic of the religion of Buddha; but Buddhism has long since been driven out of Hindustan and taken refuge in Burma and Siam. Jai Chand also wore false teeth fastened with golden wire; the teeth were perhaps a relic of an age of Hindú civilization which has passed away. It will be seen hereafter that a white elephant was kept by the Rai of Vijayanagara as late as the fifteenth century. It may be regarded as a relic of Buddhism which had survived the Brahmanical revival. It was paraded before the sovereign every morning, as looking upon it was regarded as a favourable omen.

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múd. They laid waste the Punjab, and cut off the communications between Peshawar and Múltan. Muhammad Ghorí fell upon them and slew many; twenty men swore to be revenged. In 1206 Muhammad Ghori was marching from Lahore to Ghazní. One evening he halted at a village on the bank of the Indus. The Gakkars watched every movement. At night they swam across the river and crept through the darkness to the Sultan's tent. Some cut down the sentries, others rushed in and stabbed the Sultan. The affair was the work of a moment; when the confusion was over Muhammad Ghori was a corpse.

Kutb-ud-dín founds the Delhi dynasty of Slave-kings, 1206—10.

The death of Muhammad Ghori was followed by a revolution. Kutb-ud-dín ceased to be the viceroy of a province of the empire of Ghazní; he became the Sultan of Mussulman India. He threw off all allegiance to Ghazní and henceforth reigned at Delhi, and caused the Khutba to be read and money to be coined in his own name.[26] Ghazní and Ghor were now forgotten; they dropped out of the history; Delhi became the capital of Mussulman India. The column of Mussulman victory is still towering above the ruins of old Delhi. It is known as the Kutb Minár, and was built to commemorate the victories of Kutb-ud-dín.

[26] The Khutba, and the coining of money, are acts of the highest significance in Mussulman history. They are emphatically the assertion of sovereignty. The Khutba is the daily prayer offered up in the mosques for the prosperity of the reigning sovereign. The introduction of the name in the Khutba is the recognition of the sovereign by the church. The introduction of the name on the new coinage is the recognition of the sovereign by the state. They are the first acts of a legitimate prince or a successful usurper. It was the boast of the Seljuk princes,—Toghrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Malik Shah,—that the Khutba for their prosperity was to be heard every day in the mosques of Mecca and Medina, Jerusalem and Bagdad, Ispahan, Samarkand, Bokhara, and Kashgár.

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Delhi empire includes the Punjab and Hindustan.

The wars of Muhammad Ghori and Kutb-ud-dín may be likened to those of Mahmúd. They destroyed idols, and they compelled the idolaters to pay Jezya or tribute. But the Indian dominion of Kutb-ud-dín and his successors formed the separate and independent kingdom of Delhi, which soon grew into an empire. On the west this kingdom of Delhi was bounded by the Indus, on the north by the Himalayas. On the south the Rajpoots opposed a barrier. To the eastward, beyond Allahabad, there was no barrier at all. The people of Bihár and Bengal were no warriors like the Rajpoots. They never even tried to withstand the Mussulmans. They were fascinated with terror, and submitted without a struggle to the wolf-like invaders.

Conquest of Bihár and Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtiyár.

There is thus a striking contrast between the conquest of Bihár and Bengal to the eastward of Allahabad, and that of the Rajpoot Rajas of Delhi and Kanouj. A Mussulman adventurer named Muhammad Bakhtiyár established his supremacy over this eastern region with the utmost ease. Bakhtiyár was a man of great valour and audacity, but he was ill-favoured and very long in the arms. His appearance was so much against him, that he could not obtain military service at Ghazní or Delhi; he therefore went away to the eastern frontier in the neighbourhood of Allahabad. Here he made plundering raids into Bihár, and was joined by other freebooters until he found himself in command of numerous horsemen. He captured the city of Bihár, and plundered it. He also destroyed a college of Bráhmans with shaven heads, and put them all to the sword. He entered Nuddea, the capital of Bengal, with only eighteen horsemen

disguised as horse-dealers. Nobody stopped him; at last he and his men reached the palace, and murdered all they met. Meanwhile his main force began to enter the city. The Raja was eating his dinner when he heard an outbreak in the court-yard. He was so alarmed that he went out at the back of the palace and fled to the river; he then embarked in a boat and sailed away to Jagganáth, leaving all his women and treasures at the mercy of the Mussulmans. He never returned to Nuddea, but passed the remainder of his days at Jagganáth as a religious devotee.[27] Henceforth Bihár and Bengal belonged to the Mussulmans, and Gour became the capital of the new dominion.

Two kingdoms in Mussulman India: Delhi and Gour.

Mussulman India thus formed two separate regions, which may be distinguished as the kingdom of Delhi, and the kingdom of Gour. The kingdom of Delhi included all the Punjab, and all Hindustan as far to the east as Allahabad.[28] The kingdom of Gour included all Bihár and Bengal, from Allahabad eastward to the Brahmaputra river. But these two regions did not always form separate kingdoms. Sometimes they were united into a single empire. Sometimes the Sultans of Delhi exercised a suzerainty as far east as the river Brahmaputra, and the

[27] Elliot's History of India, vol. ii. The Raja of Nuddea was named Rai Lakhmaniya. His timidity may be in part ascribed to a belief in astrology. His mother is said to have been put to horrible torment in order to delay his birth a couple of hours. The astrologers had assured him that he would be deprived of his kingdom by a man with long arms.

[28] The town of Allahabad, the ancient Prayága, is situated at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna in the centre of Hindustan. A line drawn from Allahabad northward, to Ayodhyá, or Oude, would probably correspond to the line of separation, whenever Delhi and Gour formed separate kingdoms.

It will of course be borne in mind that the region to the south, answering to Guzerát and Rajpootana, were not as yet included in Mussulman India, although geographically they form part of Hindustan.

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Sultans of Gour were their vassals or viceroys. At other times the Sultans of Gour were independent sovereigns. In one instance, which will appear hereafter, the Sultan of Gour conquered all Hindustan and the Punjab.[29]

Bakhtiyár had conquered Bihár and Bengal with so much ease that he tried to conquer his neighbours. To the east, beyond the lower Brahmaputra, was the kingdom of Kámrúp, the modern Assam. Due north, beyond the Himalayas, and beyond the upper Brahmaputra, was the kingdom of Thibet. Bakhtiyár prepared to invade Thibet. He proceeded up the valley of the Brahmaputra with ten thousand horsemen. He crossed the river at a great stone bridge, having twenty arches, and then pushed on for fifteen days through narrow valleys and over lofty mountains. There he was attacked by a powerful army of warriors, who fought with spears and long bows, and wore helmets and cuirasses of bamboos fastened together with raw silk.[30] An obstinate battle followed. Bakhtiyár lost many men, and was told that another large army was on the way to attack him.[31] Accordingly he

Mussulman expedition from Gour to Thibet.

[29] This was notably the case in the sixteenth century, when Shîr Shah the Afghan possessed himself of Gour, and then drove the Moghul emperor Humâyun out of Hindustan and the Punjab. The case is curious. The British government in like manner conquered Hindustan and the Punjab from the side of Bengal.

[30] These people were unquestionably Abors. (Compare Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 27.) This identification was pointed out by Mr T. T. Cooper. The Abors are still inhabiting these localities.

[31] The story of this expedition into Thibet is somewhat obscure, but it is full of interest. Bakhtiyár was induced to turn back by the information which he received from his prisoners. They told him that fifteen miles from the field of battle there was a very large and strongly fortified city, called Kurmputtun, which was inhabited by Bráhmans and Booteas; that their prince was a Christian, but that he had in his service an innumerable army of brave Tartars; that a thousand to fifteen hundred horses were daily sold in its market; that on the first appearance of the Mussulmans an express had been sent off to the city; and that, without

turned back, but the retreat was most disastrous. The people had burnt all the grain and forage on the way. The Raja of Kámrúp had broken down two of the arches of the stone bridge, and taken away all the boats.[32] The Mussulmans began to prepare rafts, but found that the army of Kámrúp was surrounding them with a stockade. Bakhtiyár saw that he was in extreme peril. He plunged his horse into the river and reached the opposite shore, but only a hundred horsemen escaped with him. All the rest had been either killed in the battle, or had perished in the retreat, or had been drowned in the Brahmaputra.[33] He died of grief shortly afterwards. The history of his immediate successors is of no moment. It will suffice to repeat that sometimes they were viceroys and sometimes independent princes.[34]

Meagre annals of the Slave-kings, 1210-90.

Insignificance of the details.

Kutb-ud-dín died in 1210; but his dynasty, known as the Slave-kings, lingered on at Delhi until 1290. The annals of the period are inexpressibly wearisome. They tell of revolts which are without interest, and of reigns which are without significance.[35] A few brief notices of the principal

doubt, a powerful force would arrive from thence early next morning. See Stewart's History of Bengal, sect. iii.

[32] Strange to say, the ruins of this bridge are still standing about twenty miles from Gowhatty. Mr T. T. Cooper, in the personal narrative of his journey through the Mishmee hills to the borders of Thibet, writes as follows:—"Behind a large hill, twenty miles inland from the right bank of the river [Brahmaputra], there stand in the centre of a large lake, . . the ruined arches of a bridge which formerly spanned the Brahmaputra." Mr Cooper has informed me that this is the only ancient bridge over the Brahmaputra in this part of the country. The river has so changed its course that it is now twenty miles from the bridge. Mr Cooper did not see the bridge himself, but was told that it consisted of eighteen arches. This precisely accords with the Mussulman authority given above.

[33] 'Elliot's History of India,' Vol. II. Tabukat-i-Násarí.

[34] See Stewart's History of Bengal.

[35] It is a curious fact that three Sultans of this dynasty, namely, Kutb-ud-dín,

CHAPTER II. Sultans might be strung together as types of the whole. Kutb-ud-dín is said to have been just and generous as a viceroy, but indolent and luxurious after he became a Sultan. Altamsh suppressed all revolts, and reigned supreme over both kingdoms of Delhi and Gour. He also established an ascendancy over the Rajpoots, and brought the contests with the Hindús to an end. Razíah, his daughter, succeeded to the throne, but was deposed on account of an amour with an Abyssinian. Mahmúd the Second was an austere type of the old Khalifs at Medina. He lived like a hermit; married only one wife, who cooked his food; and every day copied out a portion of the Koran. Balban was a usurper, who maintained a magnificent court, and defeated the Rajpoots. Kai Kubád was fond of wine, and very fond of "silver-bodied damsels with musky tresses." In 1290 he was assassinated; and an old man, named Jelál-ud-dín, who belonged to the tribe of Khiljis,[36] became Sultan of Delhi.

The dynasty of Slave-kings was thus brought to a close about the end of the thirteenth century. Three hundred years had passed away since the Punjab had been invaded by Sabaktigín and Mahmúd. Yet hitherto the history has been one of conquest alone. It reveals no results of the collision between Mussulmans and the Hindús, beyond the destruction of idols, the plunder of temples, and the building of mosques. The Mussul-

Altamsh, and Balban, were originally slaves. They had been purchased as slaves, they had served as slaves, and then they had risen to favour and usurped the throne. It is, however, difficult to draw any inferences from the circumstance.

[36] It is a moot question whether the Khiljis were Afghans or Turks. The point, however, is of no political or religious importance. Although the races are different, it is impossible always to distinguish between Turks and Afghans.

mans fixed their yoke upon the Hindús without the aid of native allies,[37] and without the slightest interference from the south. Hindustan was conquered by the Mussulmans, and the Dekhan and Peninsula looked listlessly on.[38]

Moghul uprising under Chenghiz Khan, 1154-1226.

Whilst the Punjab and Hindustan were thus dwelling under Mussulman rule, the Asiatic world outside the Indus and Himalayas was overwhelmed by hosts of Tartars. In the neighbourhood of the desert of Gobi and mountains of Altai, some wretched tribes of Tartar nomades had been wandering for ages amongst the pastures under the name of Mongols or Moghuls. They were ugly barbarians, with yellow complexions, high cheek-

[37] The relations between Mahmúd and the Rajas of Kanouj and Guzerát were only of a temporary character. The alliance between Muhammad Ghori and Jai Chand of Kanouj was soon brought to a close by treachery.

[38] Throughout the whole of these three centuries, from about 990 to 1290, only four Sultans are deserving of remembrance, namely, Mahmúd of Ghazní, Muhammad Ghori, Kutb-ud-dín, and Muhammad Bakhtiyar. The courts of the Slave-kings are veiled from view. Glimpses may be obtained of fortified palaces swarming with officials, servants, and guards; of princes and warriors assembled in the council hall; of jewelled nobility, gazing on jugglers, wrestlers, prize-fighters, or dancing girls; or listening to singers, writers of poetry, tellers of stories, or readers of the Koran and Sháh Námeh. It would be also possible to picture some of the inmates of the harem; the queens, the concubines, the waiting-maids, the eunuchs, and the slaves. But the precise details of real life are altogether wanting.

Students in Mussulman history may consider this assertion too sweeping. It should however be borne in mind that details which are interesting to students are not always necessary to the general reader, who desires to learn more of the political and religious developments of the people than of sovereigns and dynasties. The numismatic history of India has charms for all archæologists. Mr Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan (Afghan) kings of Delhi opens up new and interesting fields of inquiry. The new and valuable edition of Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, which is in course of publication by Messrs Trübner & Co., falls under the same category. It comprises Marsden's highly-finished engravings as well as the latest information contributed by the foremost scholars of the day. Both works are complete in themselves; both are of unquestionable value to lovers of Indian archæology; but neither as yet are closely connected with political or religious history. Consequently the present history is an introduction to such studies, rather than an exposition of their results.

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bones, flat noses, small eyes, and large mouths. Their history begins with Chenghiz Khan. He was born in 1154 and died in 1226. His career marks him out as a type of the world conquerors of antiquity. By sheer force of genius, by the power of creating armies and drilling them into machines, he established his sovereignty over the northern steppes from Western China to the Volga and Caspian. He then turned south and invaded Central Asia; he overran Bokhara, Kábul, Kandahar, and Khorassan; he subdued all Persia to the westward. His empire covered an area nearly four times as vast as that of India. The narrative of his wars is a mere story of battles and sieges, massacres and devastations. The callous Tartar soldiery committed every conceivable outrage and atrocity; they carried away large populations into hopeless slavery. Chenghiz Khan reached the banks of the Indus, but never crossed the river into India. After his death the Punjab was frequently exposed to Moghul raids, as will appear in the progress of the history.[39]

Dynasty of Khilji Sultans, 1290-1320.

The annals of the new dynasty of the Khilji Sultans supply data which are wanting in the history of the slave kings. They reveal the life of courts as well as that of camps; the intrigues of the harem as well as the movements of armies. There were but three Sultans of the house of Khilji; their united reigns only lasted thirty years; yet their history is of peculiar value. They carried their arms into the Dekhan and the Peninsula;

[39] The characteristics of the Moghuls will be reviewed hereafter in dealing with the rise of the so-called Moghul empire in India under Bábar and his successors. (See *infra*, chap. iv.) The life of Chenghiz Khan was compiled from oriental historians and other sources by the learned Petis de la Croix. It was the labour of ten years. An English translation was published in 8vo, London, 1722.

they formed closer connections with Hindús than any previous Sultans. The result was a Hindú revolt against the Mussulman yoke, which foreshadowed the mutiny of 1857, and in every way demands a careful study.

Jelál-ud-dín, the founder of the dynasty, was not a man of mark. He was seventy years of age. He had two sons to succeed him on the throne; both he and his family were brought to ruin by a nephew named Alá-ud-dín. Indeed the reign of Jelál-ud-dín is little more than a story of the early life and exploits of his nephew Alá-ud-dín.

Jelál-ud-dín, 1290-1295.

Jelál-ud-dín may be dismissed in a few words. He was a weak old man, easily deceived, and absurdly lenient towards enemies or offenders. The Moghuls invaded the Punjab; he totally defeated them; he then made peace with them, and permitted them to return to their own country. He enlisted three thousand Moghuls in his own army, and settled them near Delhi. In the end they proved the most refractory and turbulent element in the whole population.

Alá-ud-dín, nephew of Jelál-ud-dín; plunders the temples at Bhilsa.

Alá-ud-dín, the nephew of the Sultan, belonged to a different type. He was young, unscrupulous, full of genius and ambition. He was appointed governor of the fortress of Karra. The position of Karra is most important; it was seated on the Ganges a little above Allahabad. On the north it commanded the province of Oude; on the east it formed a frontier fortress towards the kingdom of Gour;[40] on the south it faced Bundelkund and the Rajpoots. The south was a new country to the Mussulmans. Alá-ud-dín would not, as yet, attack

[40] At this period Delhi and Gour were separated into two distinct kingdoms.

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the Rajpoots; he cut his way through Bundelkund to Malwa; he plundered the Buddhist temples at Bhilsa on the slopes of the Vindhya range. He then returned to Karra, and was rewarded by his uncle, the Sultan, with the government of Oude.

Plans an invasion of the Dekhan.

The ambition of Alá-ud-dín grew with his success. When at Bhilsa he had heard of a rich city far away to the south. It was named Deoghur, and was the capital of the Mahratta country. He longed to plunder it, but it was as far from Bhilsa as Bhilsa was from Karra. After his return to Karra he resolved on making the attempt. As governor of Oude he had more forces at his command. Moreover, he had gained experience during his campaign in Malwa. Accordingly he planned a raid upon Deoghur.

Raid into the Mahratta country.

The audacity of this idea will appear from a glance at the map. Maharashtra, or the Mahratta country, occupied the western Dekhan. It thus lay to the south of Rajpootana, and south of the Nerbudda river. Deoghur, the capital, was nearly seven hundred miles from Karra; it was also seven hundred miles from Delhi. A force going to Deoghur must push its way through an unknown country. It might fail to obtain supplies; it might be surrounded and cut off; there was no possible way by which it could be relieved. But Alá-ud-dín seems to have understood the Hindús; their bewilderment and stupefaction on the sudden appearance of a foreign army; their relief on seeing it move away; their exaggerated reports after its departure. He knew that with a compact body of horse he could go where he pleased, so long as he told a plausible story and did not tarry on the way.

He kept his plan a profound secret from his uncle, the Sultan of Delhi, and from every one else. He sallied out of Karra with eight thousand horsemen; he made his way through the jungles of Bundelkund towards the south. For six months nothing was heard of him. Meantime he passed through different kingdoms telling the same story. He was a nephew of Sultan Jelál-ud-dín of Delhi; he had quarrelled with his uncle, and was going to take service under a Raja in Telinga. No one stopped him; no one questioned him. He and his horsemen rode through Malwa; they crossed the Vindhya mountains and Nerbudda river; at last they appeared before the walls of Deoghur.[41]

Plunders Deoghur.

The Raja of the Mahratta country was named Ram-deva. He was utterly taken by surprise. He had never dreamt of an invasion of Mussulmans. He had no troops whatever in Deoghur. He fled with a few citizens and servants into a hill fort close by; he there waited and wondered after Hindú fashion. Alá-ud-dín plundered Deoghur; he tortured the merchants and bankers into discovering their hidden treasures. He attacked the hill fort, but found that it was very strong. He began to threaten and bully. He proclaimed that he only commanded a force in advance; that the Sultan was

[41] Malwa is a large table-land lying between Bundelkund and the Vindhya range. It corresponded to the region now known as Central India. It must not be confounded with the Central Provinces.

Deoghur is situated southward of the Nerbudda river, near the upper course of the river Godavari. It was subsequently called Doulatabad, and plays an important part in the later history.

Telinga or Telingana is a remote territory to the south-west on the coast of Coromandel. Geographically, it is situated partly in the Dekhan and partly in the Peninsula. It must once have formed a distinct nationality, for the people of Telinga speak a language of their own which is known as Telugu.

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coming up with the main army, and would starve out the Raja, and carry him off to Delhi. Ramdeva was in sore dismay. The fort by some mistake had been provisioned with salt instead of grain. He was obliged to come to terms; just as he had made his peace, his son appeared with an army and attacked the Mussulmans. The son was defeated; the Raja was in a worse position than ever. However, he made over a large hoard of money and jewels to Alá-ud-dín, and promised to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan. Alá-ud-dín, and all his horsemen, then rode away from Deoghur.

Returns to Karra: murders his uncle.

Alá-ud-dín carried the plunder in safety to Karra. But he had a desperate game to play. He was resolved not to part with the spoil; he knew that his uncle, the Sultan of Delhi, would come to Karra with an army and demand it. He schemed every way to induce the Sultan to leave his army behind. He pretended to be afraid of the Sultan's anger. He offered to give up the spoil if the Sultan would come alone; he threatened to fly to Bengal with all the treasure if his uncle brought an army. Karra is situated on the right bank of the Ganges. Alá-ud-dín crossed over to the left bank with all his forces, in order to place the river between himself and the Sultan. Meantime the Sultan was completely deceived. He believed that Alá-ud-dín was really afraid of him; he was anxious to reassure his nephew. He was so infatuated by his blind confidence, that he was angry with those who tried to warn him that treachery was impending. He halted his army; he crossed the Ganges in a small boat, and landed on the opposite bank. There he met Alá-ud-dín and greet-

ed him affectionately. At that moment was he struck by an assassin. He ran back to the boat crying "treachery;" he was thrown down and beheaded on the spot. His head was then set upon a spear and paraded through the camp. Alá-ud-dín was proclaimed Sultan. CHAPTER II.

Alá-ud-dín made no attempt to excuse the murder. He silenced the army by distributing money; he silenced the people by the same means. He hastened to Delhi, throwing away money at every stage. At Delhi he continued his largesses. Bags full of gold were scattered amongst the rabble. Booths were set up; victuals and liquors were freely given to all comers. Meanwhile the two sons of Jelál-ud-dín were taken prisoners, blinded, and ultimately assassinated. The Khutba was read and money coined in the name of Alá-ud-dín. In this manner the murder was forgotten or ignored. Seizes the throne of Delhi: reigns 1295-1316.

There is nothing more remarkable in oriental history than the way in which murder and usurpation are passed over by the masses. The story is whispered about; no one doubts its truth; no one concerns himself respecting it. If a prince of the fallen dynasty appears upon the scene, numbers will join him in the hope of reward; if every member of the family is put to death, the whole kingdom submits to the usurper. Meantime the multitude are amused with money and feasting. Such liberality is practised at the accession of every sovereign; it satisfies the nation that a new Sultan has begun to reign. The sentiment that God knows all, that it is the will of God, quiets every conscience. Even superstition is silenced. Almsgiving and feeding the poor have always been Indifference of the masses.

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regarded as atonements for sin; if therefore the Sultan has been guilty of murder, his charities have expiated the crime.[42]

Conquers Guzerat.

When Alá-ud-dín was established on the throne of Delhi, he sent an army to conquer Guzerat. The campaign was of small importance; its results were extraordinary. The Raja was a Rajpoot, named Rai Karan. He was defeated and driven into exile in the Mahratta country; he left his queen and all his treasures behind. The queen was taken to Delhi and became the wife of Alá-ud-dín. A Hindú slave boy was taken from a merchant of Cambay, the capital of Guzerat, and presented to Alá-ud-dín; he afterwards became a great favourite, and was made vizier under the name of Malik Káfúr.

Marries a Rajpoot queen.

The after life of that Rajpoot queen can never be told. She was a Hindú, but the Sultan was smitten with her beauty. She was a captive and helpless. She could never return to her husband; she could not refuse to be the wife of her conqueror. She pined, however, for a little daughter whom she had left in Guzerat; the Sultan sent messengers to bring the child. The girl was named Dewal Devi. Her adventures were of the strangest. She had accompanied her father Rai Karan in his flight to the Mahratta country. Ram-deva, the Mahratta Raja, wished to marry her to his son. Rai Karan was proud of his Rajpoot blood; he

[42] It should be added that the crime of Alá-ud-dín is by no means ignored by Mussulman historians. Mussulmans, and indeed orientals in general, are warm-hearted and affectionate in their family relations. The details of the murder of the uncle by the nephew are related by Ferishta and others with every mark of horror and detestation. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Alá-ud-dín was demoralized during his camp life in the Dekhan, or he would scarcely have contemplated such a cold-blooded murder.

refused to give his daughter to a Mahratta. Then the messengers came from the Sultan; Rai Karan changed his mind; he made over Dewal Devi to the Mahratta prince, rather than send her amongst Mussulmans. Some Mussulmans stopped the wedding train and carried her off to Delhi. She was only eight years of age; she was betrothed to Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, who was aged ten. The two were allowed to play together in the harem; after a while they were in love with each other. The mother of Khizr Khan opposed the match, and married him to a niece. The lovers were miserable for awhile; they were consoled after oriental fashion. Dewal Devi became the second wife of Khizr Khan. Her further adventures will be told hereafter.[43]

Plans the conquest of Rajpootana.

When Alá-ud-dín had conquered Guzerat, he began to invade Rajpootana. Hitherto his conquests seem to have been pursued after a regular plan. His ultimate object was the subjugation of Rajpootana. He had conquered Bundelkund and Malwá to the east of Rajpootana. He had reduced the Mahratta Raja to the southwards. He had conquered Guzerat to the westward. Having thus isolated or surrounded Rajpootana, he struck at the heart by the capture of Chítor.[44]

The siege of Chítor, and other operations in

[43] The details in the text respecting the early life of Dewal Devi are based on the authority of the Mussulman historian Ferishta. The story of her marriage forms the subject of a poem by the celebrated Persian bard Amír Khuzru, who was supplied with the details of the love passages by Khizr Khan himself. An abstract of the poem is given in the Appendix to Elliot's History of India, vol. iii.

[44] The story of the capture of Chitór has been related elsewhere. See vol. iii. chap. 7.

CHAPTER II. Rajpootana lasted many months. During the interval there were several plots against the Sultan. A number of Moghuls had been converted to Islam and settled in the Punjab; they had become most refractory. They were called "New Mussulmans." Many had enlisted in the royal army; others had entered the service of princes or nobles. Their character was utterly bad. They were ready to commit any villany. When in fear of punishment they deserted to the Rajpoots, or joined any enemy or rebel who had taken the field.

The 'New Mussulmans.'

Plot of Akat Khan.

The plot of Akat Khan is a type of others. He was a nephew of the Sultan. He sought to murder Alá-ud-dín during the war against the Rajpoots, just as Alá-ud-dín had sought to murder his own uncle. He entertained a number of "New Mussulmans;" he attacked the Sultan outside the camp, and left him for dead. The incidents which followed furnish a striking example of the instability of oriental sovereignties. Akat Khan returned to the camp, and was proclaimed Sultan. The army accepted him without hesitation, presuming that Alá-ud-dín was really dead. He took possession of the royal pavilion; he received the homage and offerings of all the chief men; he even tried to enter the royal harem. The chief eunuch, however, was versed in court assassinations. He would not admit Akat Khan into the harem, unless the prince brought the head of Alá-ud-dín. At this moment Alá-ud-dín approached the camp with the canopy of royalty. The troops saw that he was alive; the tide of public feeling turned in a moment. The army deserted Akat Khan and thronged round Alá-ud-dín. Akat Khan fled for his

life; some horsemen galloped after him and brought back his head upon a spear. CHAPTER II.

Revolt in Delhi.

After this, news reached the camp that Delhi had revolted. The rabble had killed the Kotwál, or head of the police. They had broken into the palace, released the state prisoners, and placed one of them upon the throne. The rebel Sultan opened the treasury, scattered the money amongst the people, and held the throne for seven days. Then the city was retaken by a party of horse. The ringleaders were slain; the head of the rebel Sultan was paraded on a spear. The multitude were so terrified that they carried back the money which had been scattered amongst them to the royal treasury.

Repressive measures of Alá-ud-dín.

When the war was over in Rajpootana, Alá-ud-dín took strong measures for preventing further outbreaks. He employed spies to report all that was said and done in the streets and bazaars, and even in the private houses. He suppressed wine-bibbing with a strong hand. All who imported wine, sold it, or drank it, were flogged and sent to prison. When the prisons were full, great pits were dug outside the city of Delhi for the incarceration of offenders. Many perished from the exposure; others were brought out half dead. Drinking was checked; it could not be stopped altogether. At last the Sultan ordered that when liquor was distilled privately, and drank in private houses without any drinking parties, the informers were not to interfere. He forbade all visiting, feasting, and meetings of every kind. Hospitality fell into disuse; strangers were refused admittance into the houses of the nobles. He

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forbade all intermarriages between noble families, unless his consent had been first obtained. He resumed all lands and pensions; the rich became poor; they could no longer ride horses, or carry arms, or wear fine clothing.[45] He punished bribery and dishonesty so severely that no one cared to be a revenue officer, or to betroth his daughter to a revenue officer. He fixed the price of grain so that it was always cheap. When the rains were plentiful the dealers bought rice of the villagers, whilst the Sultan hoarded up large stores in the royal granaries. When the rains were scarce the dealers bought rice at the same low rates at the royal granaries. In like manner he fixed the price of everything that was to be sold or hired; he punished all who altered the prices, or used false weights or measures.[46]

Ignores the Ulamá.

Alá-ud-dín was not a learned man, nor did he associate with men of learning. He could not read or write. He never asked for legal opinions; he never considered whether his commands were lawful or unlawful. He punished all offenders of every degree as he thought proper. Sometimes he was told that his orders were contrary to law, but he took no heed. He cared for nothing so long as he was obeyed.[47]

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[45] It is difficult to say how far this measure was carried out. He could scarcely have resumed military jaghirs, or lands for the maintenance of bodies of horses.

[46] For an exhaustive history of the administration of Alá-ud-dín, see the history of Barní, translated by Professor Dowson in Elliot's History, vol. iii.

[47] A long discussion upon this feature in the character of Alá-ud-dín has been preserved by Barní. (See Elliot's History, vol. iii.) The point is of small consequence except as an illustration of the relations between the Sultan and the Ulamá. The Ulamá was the name given to the collective body of doctors and lawyers resident at the capital. The influence of the Ulamás has always been considerable; their opinion has generally had great weight with the reigning Sultan. Indeed, whether the Sultan was good or bad, he always tried to keep on good terms with the Ulamá. Alá-ud-dín was the first Sultan of Delhi who came in conflict with the Ulamá. The Ulamá were afraid to oppose such a self-

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Throughout the greater part of this reign the Punjab was exposed to raids from the Moghuls. Ever since the time of Chenghiz Khan, armies of Moghul horsemen appeared at intervals and laid the whole country waste. They plundered towns and villages; they carried away women and children. Their faces were hideous. Their skins were like leather. Their eyes were small, piercing, and very far apart; their noses were flat and ugly; their mouths stretched from one cheek-bone to the other. They were covered with vermin, and their smell was detestable.[48] Many times the armies of Alá-ud-dín routed these savage hordes. Thousands were slain in battle. Thousands were carried away prisoners, and trampled to death by elephants; towers and pyramids were built with their heads at the gates of Delhi.

Moghul invasions.

All this while the "New Mussulmans," who had enlisted in the army of the Sultan, were growing more and more refractory. At last Alâ-ud-dín ordered them to be disbanded. Subsequently they tried to murder him; he ordered them all to be massacred; he sold their wives and children into slavery. Thousands were put to death, but many survived; the "New Mussulmans" were mixed up with different rebellions for generations afterwards.

Massacre of "New Mussulmans."

willed sovereign. The lawyers withheld their opinions until they were asked. One lawyer is said to have assured the Sultan that his measures were contrary to the law; he took care to add that they might be in accordance with a wise policy. The status of the Ulamá will be brought more directly under review in dealing with the reign of the emperor Akber. See *infra*, chap. iv.

[48] This description of the Moghuls is based on that of Amír Khuzru the poet, who on one occasion was taken captive by these repulsive barbarians. See Elliot's History of India, vol. iii., Appendix. Such invasions must have been regarded as the greatest of calamities.

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Alá-ud-dín's aspirations: conquers the Telinga, Tamil, and Karnata countries.

Meantime Sultan Alá-ud-dín was prosperous. He had subjugated Maharashtra, Guzerat, and Rajpootana. He had put down rebellions, driven out the Moghuls, and strengthened his rule. He had extended his suzerainty over Bihár and Bengal. The Sultan of Gour had seen his greatness; he had laid aside the insignia of royalty, and professed himself to be a vassal of Delhi.[49] Alá-ud-dín thus became puffed up. He thought to be a prophet like Muhammad, and a conqueror like Alexander; after a while he quieted down.[50] However, he sent out armies under his vizier Malik Káfúr to conquer the Telinga country, the Tamil country, and the Kanarese country. Malik Káfúr defeated the Rajas and captured their forts. He brought away their horses and elephants, their hoards of gold and jewels. He compelled them to pay a yearly tribute to Delhi.

Contemporary state of Peninsular India.

The expeditions of Malik Káfúr throw some

[49] Stewart's History of Bengal, sect. iii. Alá-ud-dín only permitted the Gour Sultan to retain the city of Gour and the south-western districts of Bengal. The eastern districts were placed under another governor, who held his court at Sunergong. This city has dwindled into a village; before the rise of Dacca it was the capital of eastern Bengal. Alá-ud-dín divided Bengal into two governments, in order to render it more subservient to the court of Delhi.

[50] Alá-ud-dín is said to have been argued out of the vain ambition of becoming another Muhammad or Alexander. He was told that it was the duty of kings to govern; that they should leave matters of law and religion to prophets and apostles; that they would never become prophets, although prophets might become kings. As an example, Chenghiz Khan had caused blood to flow in rivers, but could not establish the religion of the Moghuls amongst Mussulmans; many Moghuls had become Mussulmans, but no Mussulmans had become Moghuls. (See Elliot, vol. iii., Barní's history.) There is a flaw in the argument, for Chenghiz Khan had no desire to promulgate any particular religion beyond the recognition of one God; on the contrary, he was tolerant of all religions. See History of Chenghiz Khan, by M. Petis de la Croix.

As regards becoming another Alexander, Alá-ud-dín was told that times had changed; that he could not find a vizier like Aristotle; that he had other duties to fulfil nearer home, namely, the destruction of every rebel in Hindustan, and the complete defence of the Punjab against Moghul invasion.

light upon the condition of the people of Peninsular India; and that too, about the very time that Marco Polo was voyaging round the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.[51] Deoghur was the basis of operations; it was from Deoghur that Malik Káfúr set forth to plunder the cities of the Peninsula. Alá-ud-dín did not plan a regular campaign; probably he was only half acquainted with the geography of the country. He conquered a great part of the Dekhan and Peninsula. He sent out successive armies under Malik Káfúr; each army was connected with Delhi by a line of posts with relays of horsemen and runners. He thus guarded against false reports; news was constantly reaching Delhi respecting the progress of the army; news was constantly reaching the army respecting the health of the Sultan. The cities actually reached by Malik Káfúr were Warangal, Madura, and Dhúr-samundar. Warangal was the capital of Telinga, or Telingana; it was situated between the rivers Godavari and Krishna, in what may be called the south-eastern Dekhan. Madura was the capital of the Tamil country; it was situated in the southern part of the great Karnatic plain, which occupies the eastern side of the Peninsula. Dhúr-samundar was seated in the heart of the Kanarese table land of Mysore, which occupies the western side of the Peninsula; its ruins may still be traced about a hundred miles to the north-west of Seringapatam. The Belál Raja of Karnata is said to have been carried prisoner to Delhi.[52] The treasuries at these capitals appear to

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[51] See *ante*, vol. iii. chap. viii.

[52] Native traditions of the Belál Raja are preserved in the Mackenzie manuscripts at Calcutta. They are of little historical value. A story is told that a

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have been rich in gold and jewels; the Mussulman historians expressly say that there was no silver money. The pagodas were crowded with Bráhmans, idols, offerings, and temple girls. The Rajas of the Tamil country were the black and naked barbarians described by Marco Polo; they wore bracelets and necklaces of pearls and precious stones; they were attended by thousands of wives and concubines.[53]

Rebellions in the Dekhan and Peninsula: death of Alá-ud-dín, 1316.

The latter years of Alá-ud-dín were disturbed by revolts and losses. Maharashtra, Guzerat, and Telingana were in frequent rebellion. The Rajpoots recovered Chítor. The Sultan grew sour and suspicious of all around him, excepting Malik Káfúr. He did whatever Malik Káfúr told him. He imprisoned his queen and elder sons lest they should plot against him. He died in 1316. He is said to have been poisoned by Malik Káfúr.

Political ideas of Alá-ud-dín.

Alá-ud-dín belongs to a strange type. His military genius is unquestionable. He was the first Sultan who planned the conquest of all India. The idea may have flickered before Mahmúd; Alá-ud-dín thought it out, and nearly realized it. The Rana of Chítor was the head of the Rajpoot dominion, the suzerain of the Rajpoot league. Alá-ud-dín surrounded Chítor by the conquest of Bundelkund, Malwá, the Mahratta country, and Guzerat; he then captured the ancient fortress. Alá-ud-dín is the first Sultan on record who entered the Dek-

daughter of the Sultan fell in love with the Raja. The story is not altogether impossible. The harem had been Hinduised by the Rajpoot ladies. It will be seen hereafter that twenty-four years after the death of Alá-ud-dín a Belál Raja was still reigning over Karnata.

[53] See *ante*, vol. iii., chap. viii. A further account of these kingdoms partly based upon the data preserved in the Mackenzie manuscripts, will be found in a future chapter.

han; he is the first who sent an army into the Peninsula.[54] Apart from his genius his character was detestable. He displayed every vice which can disgrace an oriental. CHAPTER II.

There are three points in the life of Alá-ud-dín, which are very suggestive. He is the first Sultan of India who married a Hindú princess; he is the first who set aside the authority of the Koran as upheld by the Ulamá; he is the first who sought to become a prophet and found a new religion. Possibly his Hindú wife upset his religious faith; he drifted into a sea of speculation. Such an inference will seem far fetched in dealing with the single reign of Alá-ud-dín; its significance will be apparent in dealing with the Hindú reaction which took place after his death; more so in reviewing the reign of the emperor Akber, which belongs to another chapter.[55]

Religious faith upset by his Hindu marriage.

The death of Alá-ud-dín was followed by revolutions; they lasted over four years, namely, from 1316 to 1320. Malik Káfúr was bent upon becoming the sole ruler of the state. He produced a will of Alá-ud-dín; it set aside all the princes, except the youngest, who was a child of five. He im-

Palace revolutions: murder of Malik Káfúr.

[54] There are vague Hindú traditions of previous Mussulman invasions towards the south as far as the Karnata country in Peninsular India, but the chronology is unreliable. See Appendix II., Hindú Annals.

[55] The analogy between the religious developments of Alá-ud-dín in the fourteenth century, and those of the emperor Akber in the sixteenth century, is somewhat startling. In Alá-ud-dín the cause and its effects are obscure. He was advanced in manhood when he married the wife of the Rajpoot Raja of Guzerat. He never came into direct and open conflict with the Ulamá; he was induced to abandon his design of becoming a prophet. Akber, on the other hand, was married to Rajpoot princesses when he was young and impressible. He broke up the authority of the Ulamá, and banished its leaders to Mecca. Finally, he founded a new religion, known as the Divine Faith; he allowed himself to be worshipped as a representative of deity.

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prisoned all the sons of Alá-ud-dín, except the infant; he ordered their eyes to be put out; he placed the infant upon the throne; he began to reign as regent. He was apparently supreme. He was deceived; a prince named Mubárak managed to save his eye-sight. One night the slaves of the palace crept into the chamber of Malik Káfúr and stabbed him to death. They released Mubárak from his dungeon; they made him regent in the room of Malik Káfúr.

Regency of Mubárak.

For two months Mubárak was content to reign as regent in the name of his infant brother. This fact proves that the will of the deceased Sultan had been accepted by the nobles and ministers; it could not lightly be set aside. Mubárak, however, was eager to mount the throne. At the end of the two months he put out the eyes of the infant Sultan; he murdered all his other brothers. He was proclaimed Sultan; there was no one to oppose him. Khizr Khan was amongst the victims. Dewal Deví, the Hindú widow of Khizr Khan, was still very beautiful; Mubárak made her his wife.

Reign of Mubárak, 1316—1320.

Mubárak was an utter profligate. At the beginning of his reign he marched against the Mahratta Raja and defeated him; he took one rebel prince prisoner and ordered him to be flayed alive.[56] On his return to Delhi he led a life of low debauchery; he drank wine and associated with courtesans before all his court. He disgusted his nobles; he was madly fond of a converted Hindú, who had adopted the Mussulman name of Khuzru Khan. He relaxed all the ordinances of his father;

[56] The name of the prince was Harpál Deva. He was a son-in-law of Ramdeva.

he permitted the people to drink and entertain; to buy and to sell as they pleased. CHAPTER II.

Meantime Khuzru Khan was made vizier; he was sent with an army against the Tamil country. The Mussulman historians charge this man with the vilest crimes, in the same way that they charged Malik Káfúr.[57] He is said to have been a low caste Parwárí or Pariah. He is accused of having plotted with other Hindús, especially with men who had been the followers of Malik Káfúr. He kept many Pariah attendants in the palace; he schemed to upset the Mussulman rule. One night he and the other Pariahs put Mubárak to death; they filled the whole court with horrible disorder.[58] Murder of Mubárak by Khuzru Khan.

The measures of this converted Hindú betray a strange conflict of ideas. At first he acted like a Mussulman. He opened the royal treasury, and bribed the body-guards. He was proclaimed Sultan under the name of Nasir-ud-dín; he ordered Hindú revolt at Delhi.

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[57] Mussulman historians are painfully bitter respecting the intimacy between Alá-ud-dín and Malik Káfúr, and that between Mubárak and Khuzru Khan.

[58] The details of the murder of Mubárak might be passed over in silence, but the narrative of Barní (Elliot, vol. iii.) furnishes a graphic picture of the palace life at Delhi. Mubárak was so infatuated with Khuzru Khan, that he refused him nothing; he reviled any one who brought charges against him. Khuzru Khan obtained the keys of the postern gate of the palace, under pretence of admitting his friends to see him at night. One night there was an uproar. The palace was filled with Pariahs. The Sultan came out and asked what was the matter; Khuzru Khan replied that the horses had broken out of the royal stables. The uproar became greater than ever. The Sultan suspected treachery and ran off to the harem. Khuzru Khan rushed after him, caught him by his long hair, and twisted it round his hand. The Sultan threw him down, and got upon his chest, but still the murderer held on to the hair. Another assassin attacked the Sultan and ran him through with a spear. The Sultan was beheaded on the spot; his trunk was thrown out into the court-yard below. A horrible massacre followed. When morning dawned, the palace was in the hands of Pariahs and Hindús. The people heard what had happened; they saw the remains of Mubárak; they hastened to hide themselves in their houses. Meantime the royal harem was at the mercy of the Pariahs.

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the Khutba to be read and money to be coined in his own name. He then did what any other Asiatic usurper would have done; he slaughtered every male of the house of Khilji. From this point, however, he seems to have acted more like a Hindú, or rather like a leader of Hindú revolt against the Mussulmans. He took the Rajpoot princess, Dewal Devi, who had been twice a widow, to be his wife. This marriage was contrary to Hindú usage; possibly it raised him in Hindú opinion. His Pariah followers set up idols in the mosques; they seated themselves on Korans; they committed the most revolting outrages in the harem. For five months Delhi was at the mercy of Hindú rebels. At last Islam was avenged. Ghazi Beg Tughlak, the governor of the Punjab, marched an army against Delhi. Khuzru Khan was taken prisoner and put to death. Ghazi Beg became Sultan under the name of Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak.

Strange characteristics of the revolt.

The revolt of Khuzru Khan is a strange jumble. His conversion to Islam was probably a sham from the outset. He belonged to the lowest caste; he had no other way of raising his social position.[59] He aspired to be a Sultan after the Mussulman fashion; he also aspired to marry the Rajpoot

[59] The account of the Hindú revolt at Delhi is based upon the authority of Ferishta, translated by Briggs, and that of the Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí, translated in Elliot's History. In the History of Guzerat by Ali Muhammad Khan, it is asserted that Khuzru Khan was a Rajpoot of the Parmár, or Pramasa tribe, one of the thirty-six royal races. Mr James Bird, the translator, asserts that Colonel Briggs has mistaken the name, and reads Parwárí, which is the appellation of a Hindú outcaste, instead of Parmár, which would indicate that Khuzru Khan was a high-caste Rajpoot. But the statement of Ferishta is confirmed by Barní in the Táríkh-i Fíroz Sháhí. Moreover the details of the outbreak refer to Pariahs rather than to Rajpoots. Had Khuzru Khan been a Rajpoot, it is not likely that he would have married Dewal Devi, who had been twice a widow.

princess, to found a Hindú dynasty, to restore the Hindú religion. The Mussulman historians say all this; there must have been much more that they do not say. Dewal Deví may have been concerned in the revolt. She had loved Khizr Khan; she could scarcely have loved Mubárak. Possibly she hated Mubárak, and invited Khuzru Khan to murder him. The Hindú revolt was a social reaction. It resembled the rebellion of 1857. For five months Delhi was in the hands of the rebels; for five months there was unbounded license. In the end Delhi was captured; the rebellion was stamped out; the governor of the Punjab was the saviour of India.[60] CHAPTER II.

The change of dynasty from the Khiljis to the Tughlaks led to a change of capital. Neither the new Sultan, nor his immediate successor, lived at Delhi; they probably regarded it as a Hindú volcano. They held their court at Tughlakabad, a strong fortress about an hour's ride from old Delhi. The ruins of Tughlakabad tell the history better than the Mussulman chroniclers. The fortifications are large masses of masonry; besides the gates and bastions there are underground galleries. Rebellion might have been put down with ease; armed men could have been sent to any quarter. The streets and bazaars, the palaces

Rise of the Tughlak dynasty: capital at Tughlakabad.

[60] Hindú influences must have been for some time at work at Delhi. Alá-uddín and Mubárak had each married a Hindú wife; they had each made a favourite of a Hindú convert. Indeed, the Turks at this period seem to have sought for Hindú wives. The father of Fírúz Shah, whose reign will be described hereafter, wanted to marry the daughter of a Rajpoot noble. The Rajpoot refused to give his daughter to a Turk; he was reduced to such distress that his daughter sacrificed herself to remove his misery. She said:—"Send me to the Turk, and think that I have been carried away by the Moghuls." (Tárikh-i Fíroz Sháhí in Elliot's History of India, vol. iii.) Such a marriage marks a change in the relations between Turks and Rajpoots.

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and gardens, may still be traced; but the city is without inhabitants of any kind.[61]

Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak reigns, 1320-1325.

Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak is only known as the saviour of Delhi. He built forts to keep out the Moghuls. He reduced the vassal kingdoms of Bengal, Maharashtra, and Telingana to their former allegiance. Apart from this he left no name in history. He reigned from 1320 to 1325; he was killed by the fall of a pavilion.

Muhammad Tughlak reigns, 1325-1350.

Muhammad Tughlak was the next Sultan of Delhi. His reign is an epoch. He had genius but no experience; he was learned and pious, but hard-hearted and cruel. He formed wild projects; he was kind to those who carried them out; he was merciless to those who thwarted him.

Financial pressure.

The financial pressure at this period was endangering the empire. A strong army was necessary to repel the invasions of the Moghuls; the revenue was not sufficient for the expenditure. Alá-ud-dín was in great straits, although he had filled his treasury with the spoils of the Dekhan. But he kept a strong hold upon the revenue officials; he brought down the price of grain until his soldiers could live on the lowest rates of pay. Muhammad Tughlak was in worse straits. The Moghuls invaded the Punjab, when the army was absent in the Dekhan; he was powerless to fight; he bribed them to return by presents of gold and jewels. The empire of Mussulman India had grown too large. The vassal kingdoms of the Dekhan

[61] The ruins of Tughlakabad are very suggestive. The tomb of the Sultan is near the city; it is connected with it by a covered way. In 1866 the city was a solitude. A few agriculturists were growing grain amidst the desolation; a few native women were chattering and drawing water at an ancient well; a dirty herd of cattle was stabled in the tomb of Tughlak Shah.

and Peninsula were a source of weakness rather than of strength. They had been plundered of all their wealth; they had nothing more to lose; they began to rebel. CHAPTER II.

The obvious policy of Muhammad Tughlak was to conciliate his subjects, Hindús as well as Mussulmans. By so doing he might have reduced his military expenditure; he might have concentrated all the forces he had at his disposal for the protection of his north-west frontier. The conciliation of Hindustan would have checked the disaffection in the Dekhan; a victory over the Moghuls would have kept the vassal princes to their allegiance. The new Sultan pursued a different course; it ended in his ruin. Necessity for conciliation.

In the first place, Muhammad Tughlak invented new cesses; they broke the backs of the ryots.[62] The poor became beggars; the rich became rebels. The fields were left unsown; grain became scarce. Then the rains failed, and there was a great famine. The Punjab and a large part of Hindustan became a desolation. Villages were ruined, families were broken up, thousands were starved to death; the strength and glory of the empire began to fade away. Impolicy of Muhammad Tughlak.

The Sultan next removed his capital from Delhi to Deoghur; he sought to escape the famine; he sought to fix his court in the centre of Mussulman India. From Deoghur he could overrun the Dekhan and Peninsula. The agony of this removal can scarcely be realized. Delhi had been a capital of Islam for a hundred and fifty years. It was as famous as Bagdad Capital transferred from Delhi to Deoghur.

[62] The cesses were known as "abwábs." They were originally levied in the Doab, the fertile region between the Ganges and Jumna; subsequently they were collected in other quarters.

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Substitution of copper for gold money.

Muhammad Tughlak sought to replenish his treasury by making copper counters take the place of gold money. He had been told that the Chinese used paper money; that the paper bore the stamp of the emperor, and was payable at the royal treasury. Instead of paper he used copper; he coined copper money as counters; he ordered his subjects to use them as gold money. The people obeyed from fear of punishment. Meanwhile the Hindús turned their houses into mints; they flooded the country with copper counters. They paid their tribute in copper instead of gold. They bought horses, arms, and fine clothing; they paid for them in copper. Merchants bought the products of India with copper counters; they sold them to foreigners for gold money. No merchants would bring their goods to India and sell them for counters. At last trade was stopped. Copper became worthless; gold

rose to four times its value. The Sultan was blind with anger; he proclaimed that he would give gold money for the counters. The thing was impossible; the copper money was endless; at Tughlakabad it was piled up in mountains. The treasury could not stand the run; it was emptied of its gold; it was closed against all comers. The result was that thousands were ruined.

Attempted conquest of China, Persia, and Tartary.

The ruin did not come all at once. For a long time the copper counters were current; the Sultan paid his army in copper; the soldiers bought all they needed with copper. The Sultan's head was turned with his success. He sent an army of a hundred thousand horsemen over the Himalayas to conquer China. The troops were defeated, harassed, plundered, starved, or drowned in mountain torrents; only ten men returned to Delhi to tell the story of the disaster. He raised another vast army for the conquest of Persia and Tartary; he maintained it for a whole year without going to war. By this time the treasury was empty; the troops disbanded for want of pay; they pillaged the country in all directions. The land was filled with robbers and outlaws.

Dismemberment of the Delhi empire: death of Muhammad Tughlak, 1350.

Meanwhile there were rebellions everywhere. Bengal and Telinga were in revolt. The armies of the Dekhan and the Peninsula were in mutiny. Hindustan and the Punjab were depopulated by famine and sinking into anarchy. The Sultan made war against his own subjects; he wasted his own dominions with fire and sword. The Hindús burnt their stacks of corn; they suffered their cattle to stray about the country. The Sultan hunted down the Ryots, as though they had been wild beasts. At last news came that the army of the Dekhan had revolted;

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that Hindú Rajas had joined in the revolt; that the Dekhan had become a separate kingdom; that one Hasan Gangu had been placed on the throne at Deoghur.[63] Muhammad Tughlak lost all heart. He saw that all men had turned against him. He died in 1350, after a reign of twenty-five years.

Peaceful reign of Firúz Shah, 1350-1388.

The death of Muhammad Tughlak brought rest to Hindustan. Bengal and the Dekhan were torn away; henceforth they ceased to form a part of the kingdom of Delhi. Firúz Shah became Sultan of Delhi; he cared not for foreign dominion; he sought only to make his people happy. He reigned for nearly half a century; the history of his rule has little historical interest. He defeated the Moghuls, and drove them back to their own country. He abolished all unlawful cesses. He brought waste lands under cultivation. He dug canals and built many dams and bridges. The Ryots grew rich and were satisfied. Every man had grain and horses; every woman had jewels and ornaments; every house had beds and furniture. Firúz Shah forbade all torture and mutilation of criminals. He put down heresy and false doctrine; he destroyed idol temples, with all their books, vessels, and images.

Bráhmans forced to pay the Jezya.

Firúz Shah was very strict with the Bráhmans. Hitherto they had been exempted from paying Jezya, or poll tax; the Sultan declared that they were the keys to the chambers of idolatry, and could no longer be excused. The Bráhmans were loud in their complaints. They threatened to burn

[63] The revolt of the Dekhan is a most important event in the history of Mussulman India. It was apparently a successful repetition of the revolt in Maharashtra and Telinga, which had been suppressed in the previous reign. It will be brought under review in the next chapter.

themselves before the palace; the Sultan took no heed. They fasted in front of the palace until they were nearly dead; the Sultan suffered them to starve. At last they yielded; the other castes paid the Jezya for them.[64]

Martyrdom of a Bráhman.

One Bráhman especially kindled the anger of the Sultan. He had made a tablet of wood, and painted devils upon it; he had deluded Mussulman men and women into idolatry. The Sultan declared that he must either accept Islam or be burnt alive. The Bráhman was obstinate and would not embrace the faith. He was bound hand and foot; he was cast upon a pile of wood; he was burnt to death before all the people.[65]

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[64] It is remarkable that Firúz Shah should have persecuted the Bráhmans so severely, when his mother was a Rajpoot. One incident of his life may, however, be ascribed to the influence of his mother. (See *ante*, page 69, *note*.) He brought the two ancient stone pillars, which are known as the walking-sticks of Bhíma the Pándava, and set them up in the city of Delhi. He is also charged with having held a golden umbrella over the head of a Hindú idol as an act of worship. This is indignantly denied by Barní. See Elliot's History of India, vol. iii.

[65] The story of the missionary Bráhman is in every way remarkable. It throws a new light upon the proselyting operations of the Bráhmans in a past age. They were not content with bringing the people of India within the pale of Brahmanism; they perverted Mussulmans to the worship of idols. The martyrdom of the Bráhman is an authentic fact. Barní, the Mussulman historian, saw it with his own eyes; his account may be quoted at length:—

"A report was brought to the Sultan that there was in Delhi an old Bráhman, who persisted in publicly performing the worship of idols in his house; that the people of the city, both Mussulmans and Hindús, resorted to his house to worship the idol. This Bráhman had constructed a wooden tablet, which was covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects. On days appointed, the infidels went to his house and worshipped the idol, without the fact becoming known to the public officers. The Sultan was informed that this Bráhman had perverted Muhammadan women, and had led them to become infidels. An order was accordingly given that the Bráhman, with his tablet, should be brought into the presence of the Sultan. The judges, doctors, elders, and lawyers [i. e. the collective body of the Ulamá] were summoned to give their opinion. Their reply was that the provisions of the law were clear: the Bráhman must either become a Mussulman or be burnt alive. The true faith was declared to the Bráhman, and the right course pointed out, but he refused to accept it. Orders

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Invasion of Timúr, 1398-1399: invasion of Hindustan by Báber, 1526.

Fírúz Shah died in 1388. His reign is the last of any moment. Ten years later, in 1398-99, the kingdom of Delhi was subverted by Timúr. This event will be noticed hereafter in dealing with the history of Moghul India; it is of little moment beyond the fact that it put an end to the Tughlak dynasty. It was followed by a blank of a century and a quarter.[66] At last, in 1526, a descendant of Timúr, named Báber, invaded Hindustan, and founded the Moghul empire. The Moghul was destined to become the paramount power in India.

Character of Mussulman rule.

Thus far the history of Mussulman India illustrates the ordinary progress of Asiatic rule. It treats of a consecutive line of Sultans; it betrays the utter insecurity of thrones and dynasties. The government was spasmodic; good or bad according to the virtues or vices of the reigning Sultan. The dominion was sometimes expanded by further con-

were given for raising a pile of faggots at the door of the Durbar [i. e. the assembly hall]. The Bráhman was tied hand and foot and cast upon it; the tablet was thrown on the top and the pile was lighted. The writer of this book was present at the Durbar, and witnessed the execution. The tablet of the Bráhman was lighted in two places, at his head and at his feet; the wood was dry, and the fire first reached his feet, and drew from him a cry, but the flames quickly enveloped his head and consumed him." Elliot's History of India, vol. iii.

The process of converting Mussulman women to idolatry may be easily conjectured. Bráhmans affect to heal the barrenness of women, to secure the affection of the husband, to promote the prosperity of children. Under such circumstances it would be no difficult task to tempt Mussulman women into idolatry.

[66] The history of Delhi from 1399 to 1526 is little better than a chronicle of dynasties. After Timúr retired from India, four officers reigned in succession as his Viceroys; their rule was confined to Delhi and its immediate neighbourhood. They are known as Sayyids, because they belonged to the family of the prophet. They were doubtless Shíahs; thus a Shíah element must have been at work in Hindustan during the fifteenth century. Unfortunately there is an utter want of data. The Sayyid dynasty ended in 1450, when an Afghan seized the throne, and founded the so-called Lodi dynasty. The Lodi Sultans were Sunnís; they seem to have conquered Hindustan as far as Bengal. Their history throws no light upon the collision between Mussulmans and Hindús; it is too obscure to throw any light upon the struggle between Shíahs and Sunnís; it may therefore be consigned to oblivion.

quests in India; sometimes it was contracted by internal revolutions. The province conquered by Mahmúd of Ghazní formed the basis of the independent kingdom founded by Kutb-ud-dín; the kingdom grew into an empire under Alá-ud-dín. In consequence of the internal troubles during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak it became dismembered; it lost the outlying provinces of Bengal and the Dekhan. Finally, when the independent sovereignties were exhausted by internecine wars, the Moghuls stepped in and subverted the whole. Such has been the political working in India from the dawn of history. Conquerors from the north have founded a kingdom; the kingdom has grown into an empire; the empire has overshadowed the Indian continent; it has become dismembered. Conquerors from the north have again founded a kingdom to undergo the same transformations.[67]

Temptations to rebellion.

The fact that there was a consecutive line of Sultans from Mahmúd to Fírúz Shah does not betoken unbroken rule. It merely expresses the idea that in oriental nations a sovereign is a necessity. The Sultan was the embodiment of all the power of the state; he was hedged around with divinity; he was almost treated as a deity. If he died suddenly, or was cut off by assassination, a new Sultan was at once placed upon the throne; all possible rivals were either consigned to a state dungeon, or deprived of their eyesight, or put to death. Any delay in the succession was fatal to the peace and security of the realm; rebel

[67] The empire of British India is exceptional. Still Indian statesmen may bear in mind the warnings of history. Is there no element of dismemberment at work in India? Is there no Moghul power, under another name, hungering after an Indian empire?

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princes sprang up in a night, and soon filled the kingdom with anarchy. There was every temptation to rebel; consequently there was every reason to fear a rebellion. A prince might be the brother of a Sultan; his dependence upon that brother resembled the abasement of a slave before an imperious master. By assassinating the Sultan, he avenged himself for past wrongs; he assumed the supreme power; he acquired the treasury, the harem, and the throne. The courtiers and ministers had no alternative; they could only accept the usurper, or rally round a rival. They generally paid their homage to the usurper; they intrigued for places and honours. They offered no opposition to the blinding, imprisoning, or slaughtering of all possible rivals; they acquiesced in every deed of violence which prevented further rebellions or complications. Meantime the multitude were satisfied. At every succession to the throne they were gladdened with money, shows, and feasting. They heard the Khutba read in the name of the new Sultan at morning prayers; they saw his titles upon the new coins; they accepted the fact that a new Sultan had begun to reign.

Hindú proclivities of Mussulman rulers.

In the foregoing history of Mussulman India one important element is still obscure. It is easy to understand the materialistic religion of Muhammad; it is not difficult to realize the metaphysical religion of the Hindús. But little as yet can be ascertained of the character and results of the conflict between the two forms of faith and worship. There is an account of the Hindú revolt at Delhi; there is a story of the martyrdom of the Bráhman who perverted the believers into idolatry. But although these data are suggestive, they do

not bring out the developments which followed the antagonism between Islam and Brahmanism. The main point, however, is sufficiently obvious. So long as the Mussulmans were breaking down temples and idols, they might preserve their own faith intact. So long as the Hindús were compelled to stand on the defensive, they might hold fast to their idolatry. When Mussulman princes married Hindú wives, and were hood-winked by Hindú favourites, observant men might have foreseen that a revolution was at hand. When Brahman missionaries deluded believers into the worship of idols, it might have been inferred that the religious thought of the two races was intermingling in undercurrents. Movements of this nature demand the closest study from the outset. Contemporary annalists saw what was going on; they failed to realize the significance. Later historians may have read the facts; they have failed to bring out the lessons. It will be seen in the sequel that such facts and such inferences are the life and soul of the history of India.

CHAPTER III.

SHÍAH REVOLT IN THE DEKHAN.

A. D. 1347 TO 1565.

CHAPTER III.

Hindú influences at work in the Dekhan: effect on the Mussulmans.

THE Mussulman conquest of the Dekhan and Peninsula throws further light upon the collision between Islam and Hinduism. So long as the Mussulmans stayed in the Punjab and Hindustan, they were recruited from the hot-beds of Islam in Central Asia; they were held tightly together in the brotherhood of the faith; they continued to be orthodox, bigoted, and intolerant. There was no tampering with Hinduism, no intermarrying with Hindú princesses, no development of Hindú influences at the court and capital at Delhi. From the moment the Mussulmans struck into the south, their political and religious life entered upon a new phase. Their history widened out into unexplored countries; they came in contact with fresh races and languages; they became isolated from their fellow Mussulmans of the Punjab and Hindustan; they probably formed connections with Hindú women of the south; they leaned[1] towards Hinduism and Hindús. The Hindú element told upon them; it rendered them

[1] It is significant that Mahmúd of Ghazni originally displayed the utmost bitterness and bigotry towards the idolaters of India. It was only after the conquest of Kanouj and Guzerat that he began to soften towards the Hindús.

impatient of the yoke of Delhi.[2] A spirit of revolt was abroad which none could understand. It broke out at Delhi, the centre of the empire; it was put down by the army of the Punjab. It broke out in the Dekhan, the outlying province on the south; in the end the Dekhan was lost to the empire. CHAPTER III.

The rise of the Mussulman kingdom of the Dekhan involves a grave political lesson. The current of Islam had run southward into a sea of Hinduism. It formed a Mussulman delta; it grew into a promontory; it was torn away by rebellion. Ample warning was given. The Delhi revolt of 1320 told the fatal tale of disaffection in the Dekhan army. The warning was unheeded. The innovations and oppressions of Muhammad Tughlak stirred up a second rebellion; it ended in the dismemberment of the empire. The Story of two revolts.

It will be necessary to go back a few years; to review the events of 1320 in association with those of 1347. In 1320 the Hindú rebels at Delhi were in secret understanding with the Rajas of the Dekhan and Peninsula. When the Pariahs rebelled at Delhi, the Rajas rebelled in the Dekhan and Peninsula. When Ghiás-ud-dín recovered Delhi, he sent his son, the crown prince, to put down the revolt in the Review of the revolt of 1320.

[2] These phenomena were not perhaps peculiar to the Mussulmans of the Dekhan. Possibly they may be traced out in Bengal. The Mussulmans of Bengal were quite as isolated as those of the Dekhan; quite as ready to revolt against Delhi. But the Hindús of Bengal do not seem to have made so much impression on their Mussulman invaders; they did not help the Mussulmans to revolt. They were enervated by the heat and moisture of the Bengal climate. They had long been slaves of the Bráhmans; they were nearly as ready to become slaves of the Mussulmans. Many became Mussulmans. Many Hindús were Mussulmans at heart of the sect of Shíahs, although retaining all the outward appearance of being strict Hindús. See special instances quoted in the Siyar-ul-Mutakherin by Mir Gholam Husain Khan.

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south.[3] The prince restored order in Deoghur; he suffered a terrible disaster at Warangal. The fortress was on the point of surrendering; suddenly his army deserted him; he was forced to fly with a handful of followers to Deoghur.

Treachery in the Mussulman camp.

The tale of Asiatic treachery is generally a mystery. Asiatic troops are rarely insubordinate; if their pay is regular they are true to their salt; but they are easily frightened. The army at Warangal had been scared away. No courier had arrived from Delhi for an entire month. Traitors whispered that the Sultan was dead; that officers who had served under Alá-ud-dín were to be put to death; that the "New Mussulmans" were to be again massacred. The army of the Dekhan broke up in a panic of terror. There was no leader amongst them; no common object to bind them together; nothing but a common fear which scattered them. Meantime the traitors in the Mussulman camp were in league with the Hindús of Warangal. The Hindús sallied out of Warangal, and slaughtered the fugitives. The crown prince must have escaped by a miracle.

The revenge.

Another Mussulman army was raised for service in the Dekhan. The new levies were doubtless furious against the Hindús. Warangal was captured. The Raja of Telinga and all his chief men were sent prisoners to Delhi; order was finally restored.

Revolt of Hindús and Mussulmans, 1347.

In 1347 twenty-six years had passed away; an interval equal to a generation. Such an interval

[3] This was the prince who ultimately succeeded his father under the name of Muhammad Tughlak. The suppression of the revolt has been barely stated in the previous chapter. See *ante*, page 70.

is of profound significance in politics. If a revolt has been suppressed; if the causes which led to it have not been removed; it is a moral certainty that it will break out afresh. The new generation forgets the punishment that befell their fathers; they are ready to risk another rising. Such was the case in the Dekhan. A generation elapsed after the revolt of 1320. Treachery and disaffection were again at work. It is difficult to trace out the intrigue; but it is obvious that the same panic prevailed in 1347 which prevailed in 1320. The Rajas were frightened at the proceedings of Muhammad Tughlak; they again threw off the yoke of Delhi. The Mussulman soldiers in the Dekhan were equally frightened; they broke out into mutiny, and were helped by the Rajas.[4] The same game was played in 1347 that was played in 1857. Officials were murdered; treasuries were broken open; public money was distributed amongst the rebel soldiery. Muhammad Tughlak was utterly unable to cope with the rebellion. The Dekhan was lost to the

[4] The relations between Hindús and Shíahs are not strongly marked in the revolt of the Dekhan; they grew closer in the later history. Strictly speaking there were two revolts; one in 1344 and the other in 1347; the first was set on foot by the Hindús, and the second by the Shíahs. The details, as recorded by Ferishta, may serve to bring out more clearly the actual state of affairs.

In 1344, a son of the Raja of Telinga, named Krishna Naik, was dwelling near Warangal. He sent privately to Bilál Deva, the Raja of Karnata (on the Mysore table land, in the western half of Peninsular India), and told him that the Mussulmans in the Dekhan were combining to extirpate the Hindús. Accordingly Bilál Deva built the famous capital at Vijayanagar, on the south bank of the Tumbadra. Bilál Deva and Krishna Naik then united their forces with those of the other Hindú Rajas of the Peninsula, and expelled the Mussulmans from every quarter excepting Deoghur. Ferishta, translated by Briggs, vol. i., page 427,

In 1347, the Shíah revolt under Hasan Gangu came to a head in Deoghur, and Hindús joined in it. The language of Ferishta is as follows: — "The Rajas of the Dekhan, also, suffering under the tyranny of the Sultan of Delhi, rejoiced at this revolt (under Hasan Gangu); in which some joined, while others, more circumspect, only privately encouraged it, and assisted the rebels with money and supplies." Ferishta, vol. ii., pages 286, 287.

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empire; it was formed into an independent kingdom. Hasan Gangu was the first Sultan of the Dekhan; he founded the dynasty of the Brahmani Sultans.[5]

Character of Hasan Gangu.

The character of Hasan Gangu is obscure. Outwardly he was a Mussulman and a Shíah. In reality he was perhaps half a Mussulman and half a Hindú. Possibly he belonged to the same type as Malik Káfúr and Khuzru Khan. Possibly, like them, he had made his religion a stepping-stone to his ambition. He had been brought up by a Bráhman; when he became Sultan he made this Bráhman his revenue minister.[6] His dynasty is consequently known as that of the Brahmani or Bahmani Sultans. Probably by some religious intrigues he gained the support of the Hindú Rajas. To all appearance he was a Mussulman and a Shíah;

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[5] Indian statesmen of the present day will do well to consider the practical question which history suggests. Have the causes which led to the mutiny of Fifty-seven been eradicated?

[6] According to Ferishta, Hasan was originally a labourer in the employ of a Bráhman of Delhi, named Gangu. One day he found a treasure in his master's field, and duly carried it to Gangu. The Bráhman was so delighted with this act of honesty that he cast the nativity of his servant, and found that Hasan was destined to become a king. Accordingly Hasan promised that if ever he obtained a kingdom he would make Gangu his minister; henceforth he adopted the name of Hasan Gangu.

The story told by Ferishta respecting the Bráhman astrologer is open to suspicion. It may possibly have been a current legend; it is equally possible that it was intended to cover the real connection between Hasan Gangu and the Bráhman, and the real cause of the dynasty being known as the Brahmani or Bahmani dynasty. The opening words of Ferishta confirm this idea; they are thus translated by Colonel Briggs:—"Authors differ regarding the birth and the early life of Hasan Bahmani. It would be tedious and useless to relate all that has been said upon this subject, so that I shall merely state that which is most generally believed in the Dekhan." Upon this passage it may be remarked that Ferishta was a Shiah. Instead, therefore, of relating anything respecting the Brahmanical proclivities of Hasan Gangu, he preferred to tell an idle story about an astrologer.

Ferishta adds that Hasan Gangu was an Afghan by birth. The story of his life and reign prove that he was more of a Persian than an Afghan.

he adopted the black canopy and curtain of the Abbasides.[7]

Antagonism between Shiahs and Sunnis.

Few points are more inexplicable in the history of Mussulman India than the workings of the Shíah element. The origin of the antagonism between the Shíahs and Sunnís lies in a nutshell. It was an old quarrel about the succession to the Khalifat; it dates as far back as the death of Muhammad. It is familiar to this day to every man, woman, and child within the Mussulman pale. The question is whether the kinsmen of Muhammad, or the "four friends" elected at Medina, were the rightful successors to the prophet. The Shíahs urge the claims of the kinsmen; the Sunnís accept the four friends.[8] The disputants are still cursing and reviling each other; occasionally they resort to fisticuffs, cudgels, and swords, in the vague hope of settling the controversy.[9]

[7] The Abbaside Khalifs sat under a black canopy, and behind a black curtain, as symbols of mourning for the family of the prophet; to this day black is the distinguishing colour of the Shíahs.

[8] As a matter of fact Muhammad was succeeded in turn by the "four friends," who were elected one after the other by the congregation at Medina, namely, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali. The Sunnís maintained that these four were the rightful successors of Muhammad. The Shíahs maintained that the three first were usurpers, and that Ali, and his two sons Hasan and Husain, were the only rightful successors. Ali, it will be remembered, had married Fátima, the daughter of the prophet, by whom he became father of Hasan and Husain.

From an early period in the history of the Khalifat there had been a split in the Shíah camp; it is of little moment now. Some Shíahs supported the claims of Abbas, an uncle of Muhammad, to the exclusion of Ali. It was a descendant of Abbas who ousted the Omeyad Khalifs at Damascus, and established the Abbaside Khalifs at Bagdad. But the Abbasides were more Arab than Persian. In the present day the Persian Shíahs are the devoted adherents of Ali.

[9] The antagonism between the Shíah and the Sunní is kept alive by a yearly festival known as the Muharram. Ali and his two sons are regarded by the Shíahs as the three Imáms, or exemplars, who became martyrs to Islam. Husain, the last of the three, was martyred on the tenth day of the month known as Muharram; consequently that day is kept by the Shíahs as an anniversary of the martyrdom. The first fortnight of the Muharram had been a festival time for ages before the advent of Muhammad; as such it is still celebrated as a feast by all Sunnís; but the tenth day of the month is a day of mourning amongst all Shíahs. In every Shíah household the story of the martyrdom of Husain is read

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Materialism of Sunnis.

The progress of this antagonism in Mussulman India reveals phenomena of historical importance. Sunnís were hostile to Hinduism; Shíahs gravitated towards Hinduism. The fact is patent throughout the after history. The cause lies underneath the surface. The religion of the Sunnís is more human. They accept the election of the four Khalifs by the congregation at Medina. They have no sympathy with dogmas respecting the supreme spirit, the transmigrations of souls, the apostolic or hereditary succession of prophetic authority through the family of Muhammad. They regard Brahmanism as the worship of idols, and nothing more.

Spiritual ideas of the Shíahs.

The religion of the Shíahs is more divine. They believe in God as the supreme spirit; in Muhammad and his family as emanations from the supreme spirit. They ignore the election of the four Khalifs. They believe in a succession, at once hereditary and apostolic, through Ali and his two sons. Their distinctive dogmas thus approximated to those of Brahmanism; they were worked upon by Brahmanism. The doctrines of the Shíahs changed the face of Islam. They were not confined to the Dekhan; they soon began to spread northward into Hindustan.[10]

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aloud amidst groans and lamentations. Men and women weep and wail over the sufferings of the beloved grandson of the prophet. The excitement grows into a religious furor. The first three Khalifs are cursed as usurpers; Muávia and his son Yezid, the first Omeyad Khalifs of Damascus, are cursed as the destroyers of the three Imáms. At night models of the tombs of the three Imáms are carried through the streets in a blaze of torches in commemoration of their martyrdom.

One proof of the working of Hinduism on the outer life of Islam is still to be seen in the celebration of the Muharram in Peninsular India. Images are expressly forbidden in the Koran; yet images of Ali and his two sons, as the three Imáms, are often set up in the model tombs.

[10] Further developments in the Shíah religion will be brought under review in the next chapter.

Antagonism between Foreigners and Dekhanis.

In the Dekhan the Shíah movement was mixed up with a political antagonism. The first Mussulman invaders of the Dekhan were Sunnís; the native born Mussulmans of the Dekhan were also Sunnís; hence the Sunnís were known as "Dekhanís." But a large Shíah element entered the Dekhan armies. The Moghuls, known as "New Mussulmans," were Shíahs; so were many Persian immigrants; hence the Shíahs were known as "Foreigners," and hated as aliens.[11]

Hasan Gangu, the Shíah, 1347—1358: turns against the Hindús.

The reign of Hasan Gangu is obscure; one fact however stands out. He was emphatically a man of the time. He stood in a different position from the conquerors of Hindustan; he belonged to a different stamp. He was no zealot like Mahmúd of Ghazní. At the outset he had to trim between Hindús and Mussulmans. Zeal for Islam would have stood him in little stead when he wanted the help of Hindú Rajas. He was a Shíah; he made a Bráhman his minister. Strange to say, nothing further is heard of this Bráhman who gave his name to the dynasty. Later on Hasan Gangu left off trimming. When his Hindú allies of Telinga and Karnatá had served his purpose, he turned against them. This looks like ingratitude; possibly Hasan Gangu was forced to show ingra-

[11] There is a necessary confusion in this division of Mussulmans; race and religion are two different things. It is impossible to make religion a question of race. It is notorious that men of the same race or nation adopt different views. Thus Hasan Gangu was a Shíah, whilst his son and successor, Muhammad Shah, was a Sunní. Again, the terms Dekhanís and Foreigners are vague and unsatisfactory. Many Arabs and Abyssinians took service in the Dekhan; they were aliens, but they were Sunnís; hence they were known as Dekhanís. On the other hand, many Hindús, natives of the Dekhan, were converted to Islam and became Shíahs. They were natives of the Dekhan; yet they were known as Foreigners.

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titude. In all probability the Rajas acted as Asiatics are accustomed to act under like circumstances. They gave themselves airs; they exaggerated their services; they demanded impossible or absurd concessions; they assumed a tone of superiority or hostility. All who know Asiatics will understand the ingratitude of Hasan Gangu. In the end he seized their frontier fortresses; he compelled them to pay him the same tribute which they had previously paid to Delhi. The Hindú Rajas obtained nothing by the revolt beyond a change of masters.[12]

Political status of the Bahmani kingdom: Mussulman dominion surrounded by Hindus.

The new kingdom of the Dekhan comprised a large square of table land about three hundred miles each way. It corresponded to Maharashtra, or the Mahratta country. It had no outlet whatever to the sea. Towards the north was the river Nerbudda; on the west was the Western Ghâts; on the south was the river Krishna; on the east were the jungles of Gondwana and kingdom of Telinga. On the north the new kingdom was linked on to Hindustan by the kingdoms of Malwa and Khandesh, which were growing up out of the dismemberment of the Delhi empire. Malwa lay to the north of the Nerbudda; Khandesh to the south of the Nerbudda. The Bahmani kingdom has already been described as a Mussulman promontory stretching southward into a sea of Hinduism. West, east, and south it

[12] Those who remember the claims for reward put forward by certain princes of India after the mutiny of Fifty-seven, will easily account for the ingratitude of Hasan Gangu. Had the rebels succeeded, they would have been worried by similar demands, possibly from the same princes. If the British Government had accepted the help of the Afghans at that crisis, the Afghans would have expected the cession of the Punjab and Kashmír. Had this been conceded they would have asked for Hindustan.

was surrounded by Hindú kingdoms. Its own subjects were Hindús. It was exposed in every way to Hindú influences.

Hindú powers of Telinga and Karnata.

The two Hindú enemies which the new kingdom had to dread were Telinga and Karnata. Telinga was a well-known enemy to the eastward. Karnata on the south was more obscure. It had undergone a transformation which rendered it a dangerous enemy to Islam. An offshoot of the royal house of Warangal established a dynasty in the south, at the city of Vijayanagar on the river Ṭumbadra. The name of Karnata fell into disuse. The new Hindú dominion was named Vijayanagar; it became the paramount power in the Peninsula; it established an empire to the south of the river Krishna, which extended from sea to sea.

Muhammad Shah the Sunní, 1358, 1375: quarrel respecting frontier fortresses.

Kulbarga was the capital of the Bahmani kingdom. It was situated a hundred and fifty miles to the west of Warangal; it was[13] a hundred and fifty miles to the north of Vijayanagar. Hasan Gangu died in 1358; he was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Shah. The father was a Shíah, the son was a Sunní; consequently the accession of the son was accompanied by a Sunní reaction. Muhammad Shah cast aside the black canopy and curtain of the Shíahs; he adopted the crimson and gold of the Sunnís. He still maintained a show of friendship with his Hindú neighbours; it was only to secure himself upon the throne. Meantime the two Rajas to the east and south acted in concert. They withheld their tribute; they demanded the restoration of their frontier fortress; they threatened to invite the aid of Fírúz Shah of Delhi. Had they attacked Muhammad Shah at

[13] Kulbarga is now a railway station on the line between Bombay and Madras.

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once they might possibly have driven him out of the Dekhan. But Hindú princes always delay. Muhammad Shah on his part was quite willing to play a waiting game until he had strengthened himself in his kingdom. He received ambassadors from his Hindú neighbours. He detained them at court as long as possible; he sent other ambassadors in return. In this way he outwitted the Hindús. When he was strong enough he fell upon the Hindús and defeated them. Henceforth there was bitter hatred between Hindús and Mussulmans.

Insolence of the Telegu prince.

Vinaik Deva was the son of the Raja of Telinga. He was an Asiatic to the back-bone. He covertly insulted the Sultan. He stopped some dealers who were carrying horses to Muhammad Shah; he took the horses at his own price. He then shut himself up in a fort, and hoped to escape consequences. Muhammad Shah was furious at the affront. He entered Telinga with a troop of horsemen, captured the fort, and took Vinaik Deva prisoner. Vinaik Deva saw that all was lost. In sheer desperation he abused the Sultan in the foulest language. At last Muhammad Shah cut out his tongue and burnt him alive. This wild revenge raised the whole Telegu people. They harassed the army of the Sultan day and night. He escaped to Kulbarga, but not until two-thirds of his horsemen were killed.[14]

Intrigues of Telinga and Vijayanagar.

At this time both Telinga in the east and Vijayanagar in the south must have repented the part they played in the revolt against Delhi. They

[14] Hindús have a power of abuse which stings a foe to madness. It is a race characteristic; it reveals their peculiar instinct. They do not abuse the opponent direct; they insult his mother and sisters in the coarsest language. The Telugu people to this day will use expressions which cannot be printed.

had helped to throw off the yoke of Delhi only to strengthen the enemy at their gates. In their extremity they sent messengers to Delhi; they besought Fírúz Shah to deliver them from the yoke of Muhammad Shah. But they were too late. Fírúz Shah could do nothing. Muhammad Shah ravaged Telinga with fire and sword; he captured the great fortress of Golkonda. Then the Raja of Telinga bent to his destiny. He paid up his tribute. He presented Muhammad with a throne of gold which he had prepared for presentation to the Sultan of Delhi.[15]

Rise of Krishna Rai of Vijayanagar: a type of Hindú sovereignty.

Meanwhile the Raja or Rai of Vijayanagar had grown into a great power. A new sovereign sat upon the throne, named Krishna Rai. The rise of Krishna Rai is a mystery.[16] He appears abruptly in Mussulman annals, like a Pharaoh or Sennacherib in Old Testament history. He was descended from an offshoot of the royal family of Telinga; but his history is singularly obscure. He belonged to a different type from the old Hindú Rajas. Porus appears in Greek history as the model of a Rajpoot sovereign; proud and majestic, but courtly, self-restrained, and staunch in his friendship. Asoka and Siláditya were moulded by Buddhism; they were grave, pious, and conciliatory. But Krishna Rai is a later type than either of the three; the type of a sovereign moulded by Brahmanism. He resembles Southey's conception of Kehama the de-

[15] This throne was kept for a hundred years, and became famous throughout the Dekhan. It was made of gold and ebony, and was covered either entirely or in part with blue enamel; every Sultan in succession decorated it with fresh jewels. It was nine feet long and three feet broad; when finally broken up it was valued at four millions sterling.

[16] The history of the Hindú kingdoms of the Dekhan and Peninsula will be brought under review hereafter.

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stroyer; his successors appear in a similar character until they were tamed down by the defeats they received from their Mussulman neighbours. Krishna Rai was the haughtiest of Rajas; he had conquered Peninsular India from Malabar to Coromandel.[17]

Krishna Rai affronted by Muhammad Shah: massacre at Mudkul.

One day Muhammad Shah was drinking wine in his palace at Kulbarga. Musicians were playing before him; they were singing the songs of Amír Khuzru in praise of kings. He was puffed up with pride; he resolved to cast an affront on Krishna Rai. Instead of rewarding the musicians with money, he gave them an order on the treasury of Vijayanagar. A messenger was sent with the order; in due course it was shown to Krishna Rai. The Hindú sovereign was exasperated beyond all measure. The messenger was set on an ass, and led through the streets of Vijayanagar; he was then dismissed to his master with the utmost contumely. Krishna Rai resolved to be revenged upon the Sultan. He collected a host of horse, foot, and elephants; he crossed the river Tumbadra to capture the frontier fortresses of Mudkul and Raichor.[18] He took Mudkul and slaughtered all the garrison; only one man escaped to tell the story to Muhammad Shah.

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[17] It is dubious whether Krishna Rai had conquered the whole of Peninsular India; it seems certain that he had become a paramount power in the South.

[18] Frontier fortresses were often a cause of war between oriental sovereigns. The power which held them maintained an ascendancy over the other, which sometimes led to the exaction of tribute, and other exercise of sovereignty. The frontier fortress on the side of Telinga was Golkonda, near the modern city of Hyderabad; Muhammad had already captured it in order to overawe Telinga. The frontier fortresses on the side of Vijayanagar were Mudkul and Raichor. They were situated in the region between the river Krishna and the river Tumbadra, which is known as the Raichor Doab. Accordingly the Raichor Doab, with its two fortresses of Mudkul and Raichor, was a debatable territory between the Bahmani Sultans and the Hindú Rais of Vijayanagar.

Massacre of Hindús by Muhammad Shah.

The Sultan was now as exasperated as the Raja; his ferocity was intensified by his religious zeal. He entered the mosque at Kulbarga; he swore upon the Koran that he would not sheath his sword until he had put a hundred thousand idolaters to the sword. He crossed the river Krishna; he reached the camp of the Rai by dawn of day. An Asiatic battle is rarely more than a brute fight. Muhammad Shah fell upon the Hindú army with a body of horse; he gained an easy victory; he committed a horrible slaughter. The Hindú army comprised not only the soldiers; it included their wives, children, and camp followers. The Mussulmans cared for nothing but murder. During the battle and the pursuit they are said to have slain seventy thousand men, women, and children. Muhammad Shah crossed the river Tumbadra towards the south; he gained another bloody victory; but he could not take the city of Vijayanagar. Indeed the city was impregnable. Three of its sides were fortified by huge granite boulders, united by bastions and curtains.[19] On the fourth side was the river Tumbadra; the river was impassable because of its rapids. The Hindús mocked the Mussulmans from the walls; Muhammad Shah was forced to raise the siege. Another battle followed; it was another massacre of Hindús. At last the Bráhmans declared that Krishna Raí had offended the gods; they forced him to make peace.

[19] The city of Vijayanagar was circular. It was fortified by seven concentric walls, one within the other. The one described in the text was the outer line of fortifications. Beyond the circuit of this outer wall was an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which great stones were half buried, but rose above the earth about the height of a man. See *Travels of Abdur Razzák* in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. iv.

CHAPTER III. He sued for terms; the Sultan told him that he must pay the musicians. The Raja was compelled to obey.[20] Mussulmans and Hindús were by this time horror-stricken at the massacres. They agreed together that for the future no one should be slain excepting the soldiers that were fighting in the field.[21]

Slaughter of highwaymen.

There was now peace. Muhammad Shah began to rid his kingdom of highwaymen. He ordered the governors of provinces to kill every robber, and send his head to Kulbarga. At the end of seven months not a bandit remained; eight thousand heads were piled up near the city of Kulbarga.[22] Muhammad Shah died in 1374.

Sultans of the Dekhan types of Oriental life.

The chronicles of the Sultans who succeeded Muhammad Shah can scarcely be called history. They comprise the annals of good and wicked sovereigns; of wars between Mussulmans and Hindús; of intermittent conflicts between Shíahs and

[20] When Muhammad Shah heard that the money had been paid according to the order which he had given upon the treasury at Vijayanagar, he is said to have exclaimed:—"Praise be to Allah, that what I ordered has been performed, and that no light word can be recorded against me." This anecdote furnishes a striking illustration of Asiatic sentiment. The Sultan forgot the thousands who had been slain in order to carry out his insolent whim; he only exulted in the fact that the money had been paid.

[21] It is a significant fact that the protest against the needless slaughter came from the Hindús. The Hindú envoys are said to have addressed Muhammad Shah in the following language:—"O Sultan, Krishna Rai may have committed sins, but it is not good for you to kill the innocent. The bestower of kingdoms has given the Dekhan to you and the Kanarese country to Krishna Rai. There may yet be many wars between the two kingdoms. Let therefore a treaty be made that henceforth none shall be slain excepting the soldiers who are fighting in the field." See Ferishta.

[22] This sweeping measure of Muhammad Shah exemplifies the course of Asiatic justice. When a war is over, the disbanded troops disperse in all directions; the country soon swarms with robbers. A reward is offered for their heads; the villains begin to murder one another for the sake of the reward; the innocent are often beheaded with the guilty. At last the bandits are scared away through fear of their fellows; the villagers recover heart, and are once more able to defend themselves.

Sunnís. But the names awaken no associations; the chronology furnishes no clue to the development of political or religious ideas. Islam was gravitating slowly towards Hinduism; otherwise the civilization was the same in the sixteenth century as it was in the fourteenth. Still many of the Sultans may be regarded as types of character; the story of their reigns serves to illustrate oriental life and manners. CHAPTER III.

Mujáhid, who succeeded Muhammad Shah, was a typical sovereign. When a boy of fourteen he killed his father's betel-bearer. When he became Sultan he displayed the same strength, violence, and audacity. He warred against the Rai of Vijayanagar. In one campaign he slew a man-eating tiger single-handed; the Hindús were so alarmed that they refused to give him battle. In another campaign he penetrated the suburbs of Vijayanagar, climbed a hill and plundered a temple in the face of the Hindú army. He could not capture the city; he was obliged to return to Kulbarga. He observed the compact which his father had made with Krishna Rai. Instead of slaughtering the inhabitants he enslaved them; he carried away sixty thousand captives, most of whom were women. Mujáhid: headstrong with bulldog courage. 1375—1378.

The current of events in Vijayanagar involves a contradiction. Ferishta[23] records the successes of Mujáhid against the Hindús; yet he extols the Rai of Vijayanagar as the greatest sovereign in all India. Krishna Rai possessed all Peninsular India to the south of the Krishna river. The people Greatness of Krishna Rai of Vijayanagar.

[23] Ferishta, translated by Briggs. The history of the Sultans of the Dekhan had been previously translated by Jonathan Scott. Ferishta is almost the sole authority for the history of the Dekhan.

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of those countries spoke partly Telugu and partly Kanarese.[24] They advanced to battle with songs and dances; their country was full of woods and fastnesses. The Rai of Vijayanagar was superior to the Sultan of Kulbarga in power, wealth, and dominion. The kings of Malabar and Ceylon kept ambassadors at his court, and sent him presents. The forefathers of Krishna had possessed the kingdom for seven hundred years;[25] they had hoarded up treasures which exceeded those of all the kings of the earth.[26] But the Sultan of Kulbarga was superior in valour; the Hindús were always beaten by the Mussulmans. In the time of Alá-ud-dín, the Rai of Karnata had buried his treasures at Ramiswaram; much of his hoard was carried away by Malik Káfúr.

Intrigues and assassinations.

Mujáhid was stabbed to death by the son of his father's betel-bearer. His uncle Dáúd succeeded to the throne; he too was stabbed to death. Mahmúd, another uncle, succeeded. He was a Sultan of peace. He reigned twenty years. He employed ten thousand bullocks in bringing grain from Guzerat and Malwa during a famine. He founded schools for orphans in all his chief towns. He gave stipends to

Mahmúd: pious and beneficent. 1378—1397.

[24] It is impossible to say whether Krishna Rai maintained a suzerainty over the Tamil country as far as the coast of Coromandel. On the Malabar side his suzerainty was undoubted, for the kings of Malabar sent him yearly presents.

[25] This statement of Ferishta is somewhat perplexing. Vijayanagar is said to have been founded about 1344 (see *ante*, page 42 *note*). Possibly Ferishta referred to Karnata; but Karnata could scarcely have been for seven centuries in the direct possession of the Telinga family. Possibly there had been intermarriages between the royal families of Karnata and Telinga from a remote period; and thus the seven centuries referred to the family and not to the Karnata kingdom. The subject will be further noticed in dealing with Hindú traditions.

[26] This is of course an oriental hyperbole; but still it conveys the popular idea of the riches of Vijayanagar.

expounders of the Koran, and monthly charities to all who were blind. He died in 1397; he was buried in the tomb of Hasan Gangu.

Ghiás-ud-dín: blinded and dethroned, 1397.

Ghiás-ud-dín, the son of Mahmud, succeeded to the throne at the age of seventeen. An officer of the household was disappointed of a post and resolved on revenge. He invited Ghiás-ud-dín to his house, made him drunk, threw him on his back, and destroyed his eyes with a dagger. Plots and murders followed; they were mere struggles for power. In the end the blind prince went to Mecca; Fírúz, son of Dáúd, was proclaimed Sultan.

Fírúz Shah: lover of pleasure, literature, and science, 1397—1422.

Fírúz was a man of wit and pleasure; devoted to learning and science, yet given to wine and women. He read the Old and New Testaments as well as the Koran; he preferred the Koran because it commanded that women should be hidden from the eyes of strangers. His religion turned upon women. He would not join the Sunnís because they were limited to four wives; he joined the Shíahs because they did not limit him. His harem was filled with women from every land; he boasted that he could speak to every one in her own tongue.

Evening assemblies.

Fírúz was eager for knowledge. He collected curiosities; he studied botany, geometry, and logic. Every day when business was over, he surrounded himself with doctors, poets, reciters of history, and readers of the Sháh Námeh. He laid aside all restraint. Every one could come or go, or call for what he pleased to eat or drink. He might speak upon any subject, except an affair of state, or a scandal about an absent person.[27]

[27] It will be seen hereafter that Fírúz Shah belonged to the same type as the emperor Akbar, and held evening assemblies of a similar character.

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War against Vijayanagar.

Fírúz was soon dragged into a war with Vijayanagar. A new sovereign, named Deva Rai, had ascended the Hindú throne. Deva Rai overran the country between the rivers Tumbadra and Krishna; he captured the frontier fortresses of Mudkul and Raichor; he then encamped on the southern bank of the Krishna river. Fírúz led his forces to the northern bank; he was afraid to cross.

Assassination of the eldest son of Deva Rai.

At last eight men offered to go over the river; they proposed to assassinate either Deva Rai or his eldest son. Fírúz accepted the offer; it excited no horror; it rather took his fancy. The scheme was carried out as a joke; it certainly was not regarded as a crime. The men crossed the river; they made friends with a company of dancing girls. Two of the men dressed as girls; they went with the company to dance and sing before the son of Deva Rai; the other six men stood outside the pavilion and waited for a signal. The son of Deva Rai and his chief officers got drunk with wine; the two men in girl's attire danced and postured in the Dekhani fashion with a dagger in each hand. Suddenly the prince was stabbed to the heart; so were many of his officers. The six men rushed in and finished the massacre. The lights were put out; the assassins escaped amidst the uproar. The result was that Fírúz crossed the river, routed Deva Rai, and returned with immense booty. Henceforth the Rais of Vijayanagar paid tribute to the Bahmani Sultans.[28]

Mussulman intrigues with the Gond Raja.

About this time another game was played on the northern frontier. The Mussulman Sultans of Malwa

[28] Ferishta tries to make it appear that the Rais of Vijayanagar had paid tribute to the Bahmani Sultans after the early victories of Hasan Gangu. The point is doubtful.

and Khandesh were growing jealous of Fírúz. They would not openly attack a brother Mussulman. They stirred up a Hindú chief, named Narsing Rai, to invade Berár.[29] Narsing Rai was a chieftain of Gondwana; he held his court at the fort of Kherlá on the Sátpura hills. He became a cat's-paw to the Sultans. He invaded Berár; he soon had reason to repent. Fírúz captured his fort at Kherla,[30] made him pay tribute, and took his daughter in marriage.[31]

Timúr invades India, 1398—99: propitiated by Fírúz Shah.

In 1398-99 Timúr invaded the Punjab with his host of Turks and Moghuls. He entered Delhi, sacked and massacred its inhabitants, and spread a great terror throughout Hindustan. Fírúz propitiated him; he sent presents to Delhi; he offered to become Timúr's vassal. Timúr sent return presents; he also sent a firmán granting Guzerat and Malwa to Fírúz.

Sultans of Guzerat and Malwa intrigue with Deva Rai.

Nothing came of the firmán; it only stirred up the Sultans of Guzerat and Malwa to fresh intrigues. They tried to make a cat's-paw of Deva Rai; they were lavish in their promises of help. Deva Rai took advantage of their promises to keep back his

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[29] The kingdom of the Bahmani Sultans of the Dekhan included four provinces, namely, *Doulatábád* [i. e., Deoghur] and Berár in the north, and Kulbarga and Telinga ceded districts in the south.

[30] The Sátpura range runs along the southern bank of the Nerbudda river, just as the Vindhya range runs along the northern bank. The ruins of the old fort of Kherlá are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of the town of Badnur. Since the publication of Sir Richard Temple's Administration Report of the Central Provinces in 1862, Gondwana cannot be called an unknown region. Mr Grant's admirable Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, published in 1870, furnishes exhaustive accounts of the whole of this interesting country. Narsing Rai was apparently a Rajpoot; he was a ruler of Gonds. The Gonds are generally regarded as distinct from the Hindús.

[31] The marriages of the Bahmani Sultans with the daughters of Hindú Rajas became as detrimental to the dynasties of the Dekhan as it had already proved to the Khilji dynasty of Hindustan.

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tribute from Fírúz; he was afraid to make war. At last he violated the Sultan's territory; he tried to carry off a girl from the town of Mudkul. Fírúz avenged the outrage. He desolated the country round about Vijayanagar until Deva Rai was in despair. The Sultans of Guzerat and Malwa could not help him; they could not keep their promises; they dared not aid the idolater against the believer. Deva Rai was forced to sue for peace. Fírúz Shah demanded his daughter in marriage; he also demanded fifty elephants, two thousand musicians and dancers, and a vast quantity of gold and jewels. The Rai had no way of escape; he was forced to give his daughter to the conqueror.

Marriage of Fírúz Shah with the daughter of Deva Rai.

The marriage of the Mussulman Sultan with a Hindú bride was celebrated with every oriental rejoicing. For forty days there was nothing but feasting and revelry. The Mussulman camp was more than four miles from the city of Vijayanagar. The road between the two was turned into a street; it was lined on either side with shops and booths. Provisions and sweetmeats, flowers and perfumes, fruits and choice drinks, were free to all. Conjurers, play-actors, snake-charmers, dancing-girls, and buffoons performed before the multitudes. When the marriage rites were over, the street was covered with carpets; the princess was carried with great pomp to the Sultan's pavilion. After some days the bridegroom and his bride paid a visit to the palace of the Rai. All the chief officers accompanied the processions in gorgeous array; music was playing, banners were flying, beautiful children were scattering flowers of gold

and silver. The Sultan was feasted for three days, and then took his leave; but the parting was unpropitious. The Rai accompanied his son-in-law part of the way to the camp; he turned back without going the whole way. Fírúz was incensed at the affront; henceforth he was in secret enmity against the Rai.[32] CHAPTER III.

Devastation of the Dekhan by the Hindús.

The peace lasted ten years. In an evil hour Fírúz renewed the war. His army was weakened by pestilence; it was utterly defeated. The Hindús revenged themselves upon the Mussulmans as they had never done before. They cut off the heads of the believers; they built them into a tower upon the field of battle. Deva Rai invaded the Dekhan with a host of idolaters; he wasted the country; he burnt down mosques and shrines; he slaughtered the villagers like sheep. At last the Mussulmans recovered heart; they drove the Hindús back to the Peninsula. Fírúz never recovered the blow; he spent his last days in sorrow and despair. He died in 1422, after a reign of twenty-five years.

Ahmad Shah the butcher, 1422—1435.

The next Sultan was Ahmad Shah. He was bent on revenging the wrongs inflicted by Deva Rai. He invaded the territories of Vijayanagar; he compelled the Hindú army to take shelter in the capital. He set aside the old compact; he put to death women and children without mercy. Whenever the tale of slaughter numbered twenty thousand persons, he halted for three days, and made a feast. He broke down the temples; he

[32] The damsel of Mudkul, who was the original cause of the war, was not forgotten. Indeed her fate was extraordinary. After the war was over, Fírúz sent for her to court; he found her so beautiful that he was half inclined to marry her himself. Ultimately he gave her to his son.

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destroyed the colleges of the Bráhmans. In the end he drove the Hindús to desperation. Five thousand banded together; they swore to slay Ahmad Shah at all hazards. They watched his every movement. One day, whilst hunting outside his camp, he saw them approaching him. He galloped to a cattle fold; he was joined by two hundred followers. But he was well nigh overwhelmed. Nearly all his men were slain or wounded; the Hindús were breaking down the walls of the fold; suddenly a body of Mussulman horsemen galloped up and saved him. The Hindús were driven off, but numbers had fallen. Deva Rai saw that fate was against him; he paid up his arrears of tribute. Ahmad Shah then returned to his own dominions.

Wars against brother Mussulmans.

Meanwhile the Sultan of Malwa was playing his old game in the Dekhan; he was making war on Narsing Rai for refusing to invade Berár. Narsing Rai was staunch. Ahmad Shah went out to help him; the Mullahs raised a cry that he was helping the idolater against the believer. Ahmad Shah stayed his hand, but only for a while. He soon declared that he had done enough for Islam; he fell upon the Malwa Sultan and defeated him utterly.[33]

Removal of the capital from Kulbarga to Bídur.

Ahmad Shah moved his capital from Kulbarga to Bídur.[34] The change is significant. Bídur is a

[33] This defiance of the Ulamá resembles that of Alá-ud-dín Khilji. It reveals the fact that Hindú influences were beginning to work amongst the Sultans of the Dekhan.

[34] Bídur is one of the cities mentioned in the Mahá Bhárata. It was the locality of some of the leading events in the tradition of Nala and Damayanti. The daughter of Raja Bhíma dwelt at Bídur; here she chose Raja Nala at her Swayamwara; here she sent her children whilst her husband was engaged in the ruinous gambling match; here she was finally united to her husband. See *ante*, Vol. i, and iii.

hundred miles to the north of Kulbarga. Ahmad Shah found that his Mussulman neighbours to the northward had become more dangerous than his Hindú neighbours to the southward. He strengthened himself against Guzerat and Malwa by making an alliance with the Sultan of Khandesh;[35] he married his son Alá-ud-dín to the daughter of the Sultan of Khandesh. He died in 1435 after a reign of twelve years. CHAPTER III.

Alá-ud-dín succeeded to the throne of Bídur. He married a Hindú princess; he neglected his Mussulman queen. The Sultan of Khandesh made war upon him, but was defeated; nothing more is told of the matter. Alá-ud-dín the trimmer, 1435—1457.

About this time Deva Rai of Vijayanagar was brooding over his defeats. He could not understand why he should be so often beaten by the Mussulmans. He had larger dominions, more people, and more money. He had many sea-ports teeming with riches. Still the Mussulmans were too much for him. Once only in the reign of Fírúz he had gained the upper hand; ever since that time the Mussulmans had been a terror to the Hindús. Perplexity of Deva Rai at his defeats.

In this perplexity Deva Rai called together a great council of Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. Such councils were common in ancient times. When they were all assembled together, he begged them to tell him truly:—'Why was it that the Mussulmans always defeated the Hindús?' The great council.

The Brálimans spoke after the manner of priests. They said it was the will of God; it had been fore- Opinion of the Bráhmans.

[35] Khandesh acted as a political buffer between the Báhmani Sultans and the Sultan of Malwa.

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told in their sacred books; it was the outcome of the age of Kali.

Opinion of the Kshatriyas.

The Kshatriyas spoke after the manner of soldiers. They said that the Mussulmans had better horsemen and better archers. The Mussulmans were mounted on horses from Persia and Turkistan. The Hindús were mounted on the ponies of the Peninsula. The Mussulman archers were far superior to the Hindú archers; they had stronger arm and keener eye; their arrows were bewildering and blinding.

Deva Rai enlists Mussulmans.

Deva Rai hearkened to the Kshatriyas. He enlisted Mussulmans; he drilled his Hindú archers. He respected the religion of the Mussulmans. He built them a mosque. He placed a Koran before his throne; they prostrated themselves before the sacred book; they would have refused to prostrate before an idolater.

Deva Rai submits to destiny.

But Deva Rai could not get the mastery over the Bahmani Sultan. He made war upon Alá-ud-dín. He gained one victory; he was routed in the second battle; he lost his eldest son in the third. The extent of his defeat is unknown. He never renewed the war. He tendered his submission; henceforth he paid his tribute regularly.

Shíahs tempted to serve Hindu Rajas.

The enlistment of Mussulmans in Hindú armies is a new phase in the history. Probably it was brought about by the antagonism between the Sunnís and Shíahs, the Dekhanis and the Foreigners. The bitterness of the struggle was daily increasing. It was growing to a dangerous height. It was threatening to rend asunder the Bahmani empire. It divided the court and army into hostile camps. When the Sunnís were in power, the Shíahs would

be tempted to take service under Hindú Rajas. CHAPTER III.

About this time Alá-ud-dín resolved to conquer Konkana. The Rajas of Konkana were brigands and pirates. They held the region between the Western Ghâts and the Indian Ocean. Their country was difficult and unhealthy; it extended from Bombay on the north to Goa on the south. They were barricaded by forests and precipices. Alá-ud-dín sent a mixed force of Dekhanis and Foreigners to root them out of their strong-holds.[36] The Dekhanis refused to go; they were alarmed at the thick jungles and overhanging mountains. The Foreigners went; they were ensnared into a narrow pass; they were attacked by the forces of Konkana and slaughtered like sheep. The recriminations which followed between the Dekhanis and Foreigners led to intrigues, treacheries, and murders. According to Ferishta thousands of Foreigners were massacred by the Dekhanis in cold blood. Ferishta, however, was himself a Foreigner and a Shíah. He writes with a bitterness which has perhaps driven him to exaggerations. It would be sheer waste of time to review the dubious detail of perfidy and assassination.

Bloody antagonism between Sunnís and Shíahs.

Alá-ud-dín died in 1457, after a reign of twenty-four years. His death was followed by a contest between his two sons Humáyún and Hasan. Humáyún was the eldest; his character was so utterly bad that the nobles placed Hasan upon the throne. Humáyún broke into the palace with his followers, dragged down Hasan, and put out his eyes.

Humáyún the cruel: horrible punishment of rebels, 1457—1461.

[36] Alá-ud-dín was trimming between Sunnís and Shíahs. This was the policy of the Sultans who succeeded Fíroz. It was not until a later period in the history, when the Bahmani empire was broken up into smaller kingdoms, that the Sultans of the Dekhan began to espouse different sides.

CHAPTER III. Humáyún was proclaimed Sultan; he was called away from the city of Bídur by a rebellion in Telingana. In his absence the people of Bídur rose in insurrection; they released the blind prince together with seven thousand state prisoners.[37] The revolt spread to the provinces. Humáyún hastened back to Bídur; he put down the rebellion with the fury of a savage. The public square became an arena of torture. The blind prince was thrown to a tiger. Thousands of men were put to the most cruel of deaths; thousands of women were subjected to a violence worse than death. Menial servants who had no hand in the rebellion were impaled, or cut to pieces, or flayed alive. The subsequent atrocities of Humáyún are indescribable. After three years he was put to death by his own servants.[38]

Mahmúd, the last of the Bahmani Sultans, 1463—1516.

Then followed the reign of a minor; it lasted for three years longer. But the further history of the Bahmani Sultans grows confused and unmeaning. Mahmúd, who may be called the last of the Bahmani Sultans, reigned from 1463 to 1516. For a brief period the empire flourished. His minister, Mahmúd Gawan, was the ablest man of the time; he conquered Goa and Konkana on one side, and Telinga and Orissa on the other.[39] But he was a Foreigner, and the Dekhanis worked

[37] There appears to have been a religious element in this revolution; it is too obscure to admit of explanation.

[38] It is difficult for a European historian to write a faithful account of the Mussulman Sultans of the Dekhan. Children of both sexes were torn from their parents for the worst of purposes. Humáyún seized brides in the public streets; after a few days he sent them back to their husbands. It is wonderful that such a wretch was permitted to reign for three years.

[39] Mahmúd conquered Goa in order to destroy the nest of pirates, who had maintained their hold on the island from a remote antiquity. Forty years afterwards Goa was captured by the Portuguese, as already related in a previous volume.

his ruin. A letter was forged with his seal, purporting to invite the Raja of Orissa to rebel.[40] The Sultan believed that the letter was authentic; he ordered the minister to be beheaded. Henceforth the Sultan abandoned himself to wine and debauchery. The governors of the provinces broke out in rebellion; they dismembered the Bahmani monarchy; they established independent kingdoms. The drunkenness which prevailed at court spread amongst the people. Ferishta describes the mania for liquor with curious exaggeration. "Holy doctors," he says, "pawned their clothes for drink; expounders of the Koran were swilling in the wine shops."[41] The authority of Mahmúd Sultan was confined to the city of Bídur and the immediate neighbourhood; even this limited authority was usurped by a new minister, named Amú Baríd. Thus Sultan Mahmúd passed away from the page of history. A petty dynasty, known as the Baríds, lingered on at Bídur, until the little kingdom was finally absorbed in the Moghul empire.[42]

Peace between the Dekhan and Peninsula.

The political relations between the Mussulmans and Hindús were entirely changed by the dismem-

[40] The connection between Orissa and the Dekhan must have been very slight. They were separated by the great forest of Gondwana.

[41] Ferishta is a faithful historian in general, but he was a Shíah. His sympathies were with the Foreigners or Shíahs; he could believe anything that was evil of the Dekhanis or Sunnís.

[42] One story is related of Sultan Mahmúd, which is worthy of record. During a campaign in Telinga, he was told that there was a temple in the city of Kánchipura [the modern Conjeveram, near Madras], which was covered with plates of gold. Accordingly he set off for Kánchipura with a chosen body of horsemen. As he approached the city the Hindús swarmed out like bees. One tall Bráhman struck a blow at the Sultan, and was killed on the spot. The temple was taken by storm; seven days were spent in stripping it of all its gold and jewels. The subsequent misfortunes of Mahmúd were ascribed by the Hindús to his having slaughtered a Bráhman.

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berment of the Bahmani empire. The balance of power was lost. The Mussulman empire in the Dekhan was no longer united under a single Sultan. It was no longer able to concentrate all its forces against the Hindú empire of the Peninsula. It was broken up into five kingdoms. The Dekhan at this period may be described as a square, having a little kingdom in the centre, and a larger kingdom in each of the four angles. Bídur was the centre. Northward of Bídur were Ahmadnagar and Berár. South of Bídur were Bíjápur and Golkonda.[43]

There was a truce between the Mussulmans and the Hindús; it lasted for some years. The Mussulman kingdoms of the Dekhan were distracted by the growing strife between the Shíahs and the Sunnís. The Hindú empire of Vijayanagar was distracted by intrigues, usurpations, and massacres, which followed the death of Deva Rai.

History of Bíjápur, typical of the history of all the Dekhan kingdoms.

The history of the Mussulman kingdoms of the Dekhan is of small value. The one point of interest is the struggle between Shíahs and Sunnís. The character of this struggle is sufficiently depicted in the history of Bíjápur. Again, Bíjápur was nearest to Vijayanagar. When Vijayanagar recovered her strength, Bíjápur bore the whole brunt of the struggle against the Hindús. Accordingly the history of Bíjápur will serve as a type of all the others. It also tells the story of the last war against Vijayanagar.

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[43] The history of these several dynasties is not only useless, but inexpressibly tedious. It may, however, be desirable to bear their names in mind. The Nizám Sháhí dynasty reigned at Ahmadnagar. The Imád Sháhí dynasty reigned at Berár. The Barid Sháhí dynasty reigned at Bídur. The Adil Sháhí dynasty reigned at Bijápur. The Kutb-Sháhí dynasty reigned at Golkonda.

Yusuf Adil Shah was the first Sultan of Bíjápur.[44] He was a Shíah. He was tolerant towards Sunnís as well as Hindús. It was customary for Shíah Mullahs to curse the first three Khalifs as usurpers; this was strictly forbidden by Yusuf Adil Shah. "Islam," he said, "has many sects, and heaven has many mansions." He leaned still more towards the Hindús. He married a Mahratta princess who accepted Islam; he gave a daughter in marriage to the Sultan of Berár, who was a converted Hindú.

Yusuf Adil Shah, the Shíah: his toleration, 1489—1510.

Ismail Adil Shah succeeded Yusuf on the throne of Bíjápur. He was the son of Yusuf by the Mahratta princess. He was only a boy, but he was a Shíah. The minister was a Sunní. A conflict was inevitable. The minister was bent upon obtaining the throne, and restoring the Sunní religion.

Ismail Adil Shah, the Shíah: 1510—1534.

The story of the court intrigues at this crisis will show the fierceness of the antagonism. The women were as eager and desperate as the men. The minister shut up the boy-Sultan and his mother in the palace. He would have seized the throne at once; he consulted the astrologers; he was told that the stars were unfavourable. He feigned sickness; he shut himself up in his own house; he brooded

Intrigues of a Sunni minister.

[44] A strange story is told by Ferishta that Yusuf Adil Shah was the son of Amurath the Second, emperor of Turkey; that when all the sons of Amurath, excepting the eldest, were put to death by the bow-string, he was smuggled out of the seraglio, sent to Persia, and brought up as a Shíah. The whole story is a fiction. It was probably invented for the purpose of ascribing a royal parentage to Yusuf. Amurath left an infant, but it was unquestionably murdered. According to the story told by Knolles, the mother was frantic with grief; she demanded revenge; the executioner was made over to her: she stabbed him to death; she cut out his liver and threw it to the dogs. This incident, horrible as it appears, probably approximates to the truth. There was no motive for inventing it. The wrath of the mother is natural; it proves that her infant was murdered. See Knolles's History of the Turks, folio, page 338. London: 1610.

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over his schemes whilst waiting for a fortunate hour.

Resistance of the Mahratta queen dowager; assassination of the minister.

The Mahratta queen knew that her son was in danger. She prevailed on a faithful Turk to assassinate the minister. The Turk gave out that he was going to Mecca; that he wished to make his salám to the minister before departing. He was admitted into the minister's chamber; he stabbed the Sunní to the heart. The Turk was cut to pieces by the guards, but the minister was a dead man.

Son of the minister aims at the throne.

The mother of the minister was as resolute as the mother of the Sultan. She had lost her son; she had a grandson who had grown to be a man; his name was Sáfdar Khan; she determined that Sáfdar Khan should become Sultan of Bíjápur. She kept the assassination a profound secret. She dressed the corpse in his usual clothes; she placed it on a sofa in the verandah as though the minister had been still alive. She sent Sáfdar Khan to secure the young Sultan and his mother; Sáfdar Khan was then to seize the throne.

Desperate battle between the Shiahs in the palace and the Sunnis outside.

Meantime the Mahratta queen was preparing for a deadly conflict. She knew nothing of what was going on; she only knew that she and her son must fight for their lives as well as for the throne. She had a woman to help her named Dilshad. The two ladies armed themselves and all the women servants; they engaged a body of archers to assist them. They sent messengers into the city to summon all the Shíahs or Foreigners to their rescue. When Sáfdar Khan approached the palace with his Sunnís, he was assailed by a storm of stones and arrows. He fell back to procure cannon for battering down the

palace gates. Meantime the women inside were reinforced by fresh bodies of archers and match-lockmen; the new arrivals made their way over the fort ditch at the back of the palace; they were dragged up to the windows by ropes. A fierce battle raged. Many were killed and wounded. At last Sáfdar Khan burst open the palace gates and rushed into the court-yard. An arrow pierced his eye; he crouched down against the wall. At that moment the young Sultan heaved a great stone upon him; it crushed him to death. CHAPTER III.

Triumph of the Shíahs.

The Sunní revolt was at an end; Ismail recovered his throne. The body of the faithful Turk was buried in a magnificent tomb; holy men were appointed to pray for his soul; so long as the Sultan dwelt at Bíjápur he paid a monthly visit to the tomb, and joined in the prayers.

Mallu, the monster, 1534.

The further reign of Ismail is of small interest. He was a Shíah; he received an embassy from the Shíah Sultan of Persia.[45] He was succeeded by his son Mallu. The new Sultan was a monster of wickedness. His grandmother, the Mahratta princess, ordered a Turkish noble to depose him and put out his eyes.

Ibrahim, the Sunní: persecution of the Shíahs, 1534—1557.

Ibrahim, a younger brother, was the next Sultan. He was a Sunní; he promoted the Sunnís, and persecuted the Shíahs. He turned away the Persian accountants because they were Shíahs; he engaged Mahratta Bráhmans in their room. The change proved mischievous. Many of the Bráhmans proved unfaithful and were put to death.

[45] In the year 1500 the Shíahs of Persia had established an independent kingdom under the Súfi Sultans. It was a Sultan of this dynasty that sent an embassy to the Sultan of Bíjápur.

CHAPTER III. Numbers of Shíahs departed out of the kingdom and entered the service of the Rai of Vijayanagar. Ibrahim carried on many wars against his Mussulman neighbours; they are forgotten now. He died in 1557. His last act was to order the execution of his physicians because they could not cure him.

Revolution in Vijayanagar.

During the reign of Ibrahim, the empire of Vijayanagar was convulsed by treacheries and massacres. The story is horrible but typical. It tells of a revolution which is frequent in Hindú history; the transfer of the sovereignty from the family of the Raja to that of the minister. It reveals the perfidy and bloodthirstiness which have been the curse of Asiatic courts from the remotest antiquity.

Intrigues of Timma, the minister.

Deva Rai had a minister named Timma. When Deva Rai died, there was no son old enough to succeed him as Raja of Vijayanagar. Timma placed an infant prince upon the throne; he ruled in his name as regent of the empire. When the infant was growing old enough to reign, he was murdered. Three infants reigned in succession; each one was murdered in turn. There was no one to interfere; the machinery of the state went on as usual; the treasury was in the hands of Timma; the armies of the empire were at his command.

Ram Rai, son of Timma, gains the throne.

Meanwhile Timma married his son Ram Rai to a granddaughter of Deva Rai. This was part of his life-long intrigue. The marriage to the princess gave Ram Rai a show of claim to the throne. In the end Ram Rai was proclaimed Raja. Another work of slaughter was carried out in the dark places of the palace. All the males of the royal

family were put to death; none escaped, except a half-witted man named Termal, and an infant of the female branch. CHAPTER III.

Ram Rai gained the throne without opposition. Had he been courtly towards his nobles, after the manner of Rajas, he might have reigned until his dying day. But he was puffed-up and insolent; he offended the vassals of the empire by his pride and arrogance. They cried out against the usurper; they demanded a prince royal for their Raja. Opposition of the nobles.

Ram Rai was in extreme peril; his kingdom and his life were in equal danger. He saved himself by yielding to the clamour. He placed the infant of the female branch upon the throne; he fell back upon the post of minister. The nobles were satisfied. Ram Rai still reigned as regent; possibly he stooped to fawn and flatter. Meantime he pushed on the work of assassination; every dangerous foe was put out of the way. His resources were boundless; poison or the dagger might be freely used; his instruments had nothing to fear. When Rama had cut down every enemy, he placed the infant Raja in confinement; he once more took his seat upon the throne as Raja of the empire. Intrigues of Ram Rai.

Many of the nobles chafed under the new usurpation. Some broke out in rebellion. Ram Rai took the field against them. Suddenly a strange incident wrested the empire out of his hands. He had entrusted the charge of the imperial treasury at Vijayanagar to a favourite slave whom he had raised to high office. His campaign in the province exhausted his army chest; he sent to the capital for a fresh supply of money. The slave opened the imperial treasury; his brain was turned at the sight of the Overthrow of Ram Rai.

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golden hoards. Wild cravings seduced him into treason. He released the infant Raja, placed him on the throne, assumed the post of minister, and began to levy troops. Every disaffected tributary in the empire hastened to Vijayanagar to rally round the lawful Raja and defend him against Ram Rai.

Termal seizes the throne.

At this crisis there was another turn of fortune. The slave had not acted alone. He had discovered his plans to Termal, the half-witted prince. Termal had all the craft and cruelty of a madman. He put the slave to death and became minister. He put the infant to death and became Raja. The feudatories accepted the change; probably they would have accepted any change that delivered them from the insolence of Ram Rai. Termal Rai was akin to the old dynasty; consequently he had a claim to the sovereignty. Ram Rai was completely baffled; he retired to his own estates and bided his time.

Invites the Sultan of Bijápur.

The madness of Termal proved more unbearable than the insolence of Ram Rai. The nobles of the empire were driven to rally round Ram Rai. Termal suddenly found himself in mortal danger; a tempest was gathering round him to destroy him. He saved himself by calling in the Mussulmans. He sent large presents to Ibrahim, Sultan of Bíjápur; he entreated the Sultan to help him; he promised that if the Sultan saved him he would become the vassal of Bíjápur.

Ibrahim Shah at Vijayanagar.

Ibrahim accepted the offer with gladness. He marched his army with all speed to Vijayanagar he was admitted within the walls; he was conducted to the palace. Termal hailed him as his deliverer He placed the Sultan upon the throne of Vijayanagar; he did homage before Ibrahim as his vassal.

The Hindús were in the utmost dismay. Termal had betrayed the empire to the Mussulmans; his Mussulman allies enabled him to defy his Hindú enemies. Ram Rai and his adherents entreated him to send away the Sultan. They declared that the presence of the Mussulmans polluted the temples and offended the gods. They vowed that if he would only dismiss the Mussulmans they would be his faithful subjects for the future. Termal was already sick of the Mussulmans. He was anxious to be reconciled to his feudatories. He bribed Ibrahim to go back to Bíjápur with a subsidy of nearly two millions sterling. Scarcely had the Mussulman army crossed the Krishna river when Termal was undeceived. The nobles threw their vows to the winds. They proclaimed that they were marching on Vijayanagar to avenge the young Raja who had been murdered by Termal. The tidings drove Termal frantic. He put out the eyes of all his horses and elephants; he cut off their tails. He crushed the jewels in the treasury with heavy millstones. Finally, just as his enemies were breaking into the palace, he fell upon his sword and perished on the spot.[46]

Termal betrayed: kills himself.

Ram Rai now became Raja of Vijayanagar; he soon restored the empire to its former grandeur. He threw off all show of dependence upon the Mussulmans. He was in reality the master. He paid no tribute to Bíjápur; he kept possession of the Raichor Doab.

Ram Rai, Raja of Vijayanagar.

Meanwhile Ali Adil Shah succeeded his father

Ali Adil Shah, a Shiah, 1557—1565.

[46] These desperate proceedings were in accordance with old Rajpoot usages. Raja Jaipál of Lahore threatened to act in like manner unless Sabaktigín and Mahmúd concluded a peace.

CHAPTER III. Ibrahim as Sultan of Bíjápur. He was a Shíah; he restored the ascendancy of the Shíahs. He ordered the Mullahs to pray for the three Imáms,—Ali, Hasan, and Husain; he appointed criers to curse the three Khalifs,—Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman.

League between the Shiah Sultan and Hindú Raja.

Ali Adil Shah was the most bigoted Shíah that had hitherto sat upon the throne of Bíjápur. It is a suggestive fact that this bigoted Shíah formed a closer alliance with Ram Rai than had ever existed before between a Sultan and a Raja. Ram Rai lost a son. Ali Adil Shah paid a visit of condolence to Vijayanagar; he was adopted as a son by the Rai and his queen. Ali Adil Shah went further. He made war upon Ahmadnagar; he was helped by the Sultan of Golkonda; he invited the co-operation of Ram Rai. The Raja of Vijayanagar was as eager to interfere in the affairs of the Dekhan as Ibrahim had been to interfere in the affairs of the Peninsula. He readily joined his forces to those of Bíjápur and Golkonda; he fought with them against the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. Meanwhile all true believers were filled with horror; they saw Mussulman Sultans helped by an idolatrous Raja in a war against a brother Mussulman.

Mussulman league against Ram Rai.

The two Sultans had bitter reason to repent their apostasy. During the war against Ahmadnagar the Hindús committed enormous sacrilege in Mussulman territory; they stabled their horses in the mosques; they performed Brahmanical rites in Mussulman shrines. When the war was over Ram Rai acted as Hindú Rajas will act under like circumstances He exaggerated his achievements. He arrogated to himself all the honour of the war. He became puffed up with pride and vain glory. He

treated the Sultans of the Dekhan as his vassals; he insulted their envoys. Then the Sultans banded together to throw off the yoke of the unbeliever. They forgot their quarrels; they thought only of revenge. Berár was too far away to the northward; Ahmadnagar and Bídur confederated with Bíjápur and Golkonda. All four collected their armies on the plains of Bíjápur; they marched south to the bank of the river Krishna. CHAPTER III.

Preparations of Ram Rai.

Meantime Ram Rai was filled with wrath. He gathered together all his horse, foot, and elephants; he thought to overwhelm the Mussulmans. His preparations were noised abroad throughout the Peninsula. He gave money to all his officers; he gave dresses, jewels, and perfumes to all his wives and concubines. He took his farewell of his mother; he received her blessing. He gave his last banquet to all his favourite ladies. He left the zenana, mounted his golden litter, and went out of the palace to take the field. His armies were divided into three great hosts. One host was sent to guard the ford of the river Krishna under the command of his brother Yeltam. The second host was sent as an advanced guard under the command of his brother Venkatadri. The third host formed the main body under his own command.

Four Sultans of the Dekhan cross the Krishna.

When the four Sultans reached the Krishna, they saw that the first host was drawn up on the opposite bank. It was impossible to cross the river; the ford was guarded by cannon and rockets mounted on earthworks. The Sultans marched three days along the bank, as if to seek for another ford. Yeltam left the earthworks, and marched his Hindú army the same way along the opposite bank. On

CHAPTER III. the third night the Sultans returned in all haste to the ford; they crossed the river before Yeltam discovered the feint. By the evening of the next day they had eluded the army of Venkatadri; they had encamped within ten miles of the army of Ram Rai.

Battle of Talikota, 1565: defeat and death of Ram Rai.

The scouts of Ram Rai soon brought him the tidings; he sent off expresses to summon his two brothers to join him. Next morning the Hindú and Mussulman armies were drawn up facing each other in battle-array. Both had cannon; the Mussulmans had the best. The Mussulmans guarded their front with a line of cannon fastened together with ropes and chains. The Hindús guarded their front with war elephants as well as cannon. The Hindús began the battle with shot and rockets. They then charged bravely in Telinga fashion; they drove back both of the Mussulman wings. But the Mussulman centre was unbroken. The Mussulman cannon discharged great bags of copper money against the enemy; the Hindús fell in heaps. At this moment a war elephant of the Hindús ran madly about; it overturned the litter of Ram Rai. The Mussulman gunners seized the Rai and carried him off; they cut off his head without further parley; they paraded it upon a spear in the sight of both armies. The death of the Raja gave the victory to the Mussulmans. The Hindús turned and fled. The Mussulmans pursued them hotly to the walls of Vijayanagar; they broke into the city; they wreaked their vengeance upon the Hindú capital. Three centuries have passed away, but the memory of the battle of Talikota,

and the plunder of Vijayanagar, are still lingering in local legend.[47]

Fall of the empire of Vijayanagar.

The battle of Talikota is a landmark in the history of India. The Hindú empire of the south received a mortal blow; it died away into a phantom. The city of rock and granite became the haunt of beasts of prey. Meanwhile, Moghuls from the north were building up a new empire. It was destined to overshadow the whole Indian continent; to dazzle the world with visions of wealth and grandeur; to burst like a bubble and vanish in its turn.[48]

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[47] Cæsar Frederike visited the city of Vijayanagar two years after the battle. He states that Ram Rai perished through the treachery of two Mussulman generals in his service, who turned against him in the middle of the battle. The Mussulmans spent six months in plundering the city, searching in all directions for buried money. The houses were still standing, but they were empty. The court had moved from Vijayanagar to Pennakonda, which was eight days' journey to the south. The inhabitants had disappeared, and gone elsewhere. The surrounding country was so infested with thieves that Cæsar Frederike was compelled to stay six months longer at Vijayanagar than he intended. When at last he set out for Goa, he was attacked every day, and had to pay a ransom on each occasion.

[48] It is a suggestive fact that within a century after the death of Ram Rai, the history of Vijayanagar had been utterly perverted by the Brahmans. Legends were current amongst the Hindús which ignored the Mussulman conquest. The four Sultans of the Dekhan were said to have been the slaves of the Raja of Vijayanagar. They had been appointed to govern their respective kingdoms as his vassals. They had rebelled against their suzerain and slain him. This story again was mixed up with a myth. In ancient times all India was said to have been under one suzerain. It was divided into four vassal kingdoms. The four vassal princes were respectively known as the lord of elephants, the lord of horses, the lord of oxen, and the lord of the umbrella. It is difficult to say who was the suzerain. Indra-prastha, or old Delhi, seems to have been the capital. To attempt to separate ancient myths from modern perversions in stories of this description would be sheer waste of time. Compare Fryer's Travels in India, Letter IV. chap. 4; Thevenot's Travels in India, Book II. chap. 1; Sterling's Orissa, chap. 3; Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. xiii. page 93, et seq. The utter worthlessness of Hindú Puránas and Buddhist chronicles has already been pointed out in Appendix II. to vol. iii. The worthlessness of so-called native histories will be fully shown hereafter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MOGHUL EMPIRE: BÁBER, HUMÁYUN, AKBER. A. D. 1526 TO 1605.

CHAPTER IV.

Moghul empire in India, a type of old Hindú empires.

THE establishment of the Moghul empire in India is the most notable event in Indian annals. It brings a new people upon the stage; heroes and heroines of a different stamp from the Turks and Afghans of the preceding age; a race who have played an important part in the development of Asia, and possibly in that of Europe, from the very beginning of things. The Moghul empire in India is not an isolated event; not a mere episode in Hindú life. It was the last link in a chain of empires. Link after link has dawned upon the world at intervals, and died out at intervals, from the remotest antiquity. Ninus and Sardanapalus, Cyrus and Ahasuerus, Chenghiz Khan and Timúr, are all heroes of similar empires. The history of the Moghul empire thus throws a light, not only upon the past condition of India, but upon all past time.

Moghuls dubious Mussulmans.

The Moghuls of modern times professed to be Mussulmans; their profession was only a thin varnish over old idolatries. They were lax, indifferent, and sceptical. Sometimes the varnish

disappeared altogether; they inclined to Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Consequently they introduced a new element into the collision between the Mussulmans and Hindús. CHAPTER IV.

The Moghuls of historic times have three epochs in their history, three stages in their development. They may be distinguished as the Tartar, the Turk, and the Persian. They differed only in outward appearance. In each stage the Moghul nature remained the same. Three epochs in Moghul history —Tartar, Turk, and Moghul.

The Tartars are barbarous nomades; they have wandered over the vast steppes of northern Asia from an unknown antiquity. They have no settled habitations; they dwell in huts which they carry about in carts. Their days are passed in moving to and fro between summer and winter pastures. They have gone on unchanging and unchanged from generation to generation. Their history is nearly as monotonous as their lives; occasionally it has been disturbed by tempests. At intervals world-stormers[1] arose amongst them and formed them into armies. Hordes of Tartar horsemen were moved at will by some commanding genius. They ravaged and plundered the south and west like demons from another sphere. For a brief period they filled the world with the terror of their name; they then broke up and disappeared. The formation of their empire was like the encampment of a vast army. For a while it was full of life and energy; it threatened to conquer the world; it arrayed itself in all the pomp and show of Asiatic sovereignty. It spent its force in feasting and harem license; it passed Character of the Tartars.

[1] The coining of this word is due to Mr Thomas Carlyle.

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away and was heard of no more. The history of Moghul conquests had no more significance for posterity than the eruptions of volcanoes. They desolated the world for awhile; they then became extinct and void.[2]

Moghuls, a royal tribe of Tartars: Chenghiz Khan.

The Moghuls were the ruling tribe among the Tartars. Chenghiz Khan, who flourished in the thirteenth century, was a type of the world-stormers of heroic times. He and his descendants assumed imperial magnificence; they were all Tartars at heart. Instead of migrating from pasture to pasture, they made royal progresses throughout their immense empire from China to the Crimea, from the deserts of Siberia to the luxurious cities of Samarkand and Ispahan. Their camps were like cities. Streets were arranged in prescribed order; every man knew where to pitch his tent, and where to find it. The royal pavilions resembled palaces. They were richly ornamented; they were decorated with pictures of trees and animals. Every Khan had numerous wives; every wife had tents and carts of her own.

Character of the Moghuls.

The Moghuls were ignorant and inquisitive, proud and overbearing. They would not work; they would not serve in mean capacities. Their labourers and servants, male and female, were

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[2] The political and social condition of the Moghuls is to be gathered from travellers rather than from historians. The review in the text is chiefly based upon the following authorities:—Carpini's Travels in 1246; Kerr's Collection, vol. i.; Rubruquis' Travels in 1253; *ibid.* vol. i.; Pinkerton's Collection, vol. vii.; Marco Polo's Travels, edited by Colonel Yule, 2 vols. See also History of Chenghiz Khan by Petit de la Croix: London, 1722. History of the Tartars by Abul Ghazi Bahadur, 2 vols. 8vo: London, 1730. Price's History of the Mussulman empire in Asia, 4 vols. 4to: London, 1811—1820. Travels of Jesuits and others in Tartary, Mongolia, and China, printed in Astley's Collection, 4 vols. 4to: London, 1745.

captives taken in war. They left all household concerns to their wives, all manual labour to their slaves. Their pursuits were war and the chase. Their pleasures lay in feasting and banqueting. They drank wine, mead, and fermented mares' milk. They caroused with their wives, whilst their servants danced round them, or played on fiddles, or clapped their hands. They were frank in their manners, but suspicious and intriguing in their ways. The women were chaste and orderly. Adultery was regarded as a heinous crime; it was punished by death according to the laws of Chenghiz Khan.[3]

Religion and civilization.

The religion of the Moghuls of the thirteenth century bore a significant resemblance to that of the Hindús. There was a primitive religion which was essentially Vedic. They presented food and wine to the four quarters of the earth in honour of fire, air, water, and ghosts. They set up domestic idols in their moveable houses; they propitiated them in like manner. They poured libations on the earth and also on the horse. They practised divination with burnt rams' horns. They had priests, like Bráhmans, who were skilled in astronomy, foretold eclipses, and cast nativities. They also had dirty saints, resembling Hindú Yogis, who performed miracles by virtue of their sanctity and penances. Amidst all the various idolatries there

[3] The first wife ruled supreme in every household. She could not prevent the husband from making a female slave his concubine; if offended she might sell the slave. Petit de la Croix tells a significant anecdote. A female slave was about to become a mother. The first wife, in the absence of the husband, sold the slave to a man who took her away to another country. When the husband returned he was very angry; he could not complain. These data are historical. In a future chapter it will be seen that the same instincts were at work in the harems of the Moghul emperors of Hindustan.

CHAPTER IV. was the same belief in one God as there is amongst the Hindús. Some of the ordinances of Brahmanism were disregarded, as indeed they were in ancient India. The Moghuls, like the Kshatriyas, were fond of flesh meat. They would eat the flesh of any animal, even if it had died a natural death. Their idea of marriage was that of capture. Their wives were not shut up in zenanas; they appeared at feasts and receptions. Widows were not burnt alive. The son inherited all his father's women excepting his own mother. A brother took the widows of a deceased brother.[4]

Gravitations towards Islam, Christianity and Buddhism.

The Moghuls retained their own religion; they were easily converted to any other. How far their conversion was real, must be left to conjecture. Nominally many were Mussulmans; others were

[4] The Moghul origin of the Hindú people is a point which the author hopes to treat in a separate work. Rubruquis' description of the Moghul priests is very suggestive; he seems to be describing Bráhmans. The passage is given at length:—"The soothsayers are their priests, and whatsoever they command to be done is performed without delay. They are many, and they have always one head or chief priest, who always places his house before the palace of the Grand Khan, within a stone's cast. Under his study are the chariots which bear their idols; the others are behind the court, in places appointed for them; and they who have any confidence in that art come to them from divers parts of the world. Some of them are skilful in astronomy, and especially the chief of them; and they foretell to them the eclipses of the sun and moon. And when they are to come to pass, all the people prepare them food, so that they need not go out of their houses; and when there is an eclipse they play upon their timbrels and organs, and make a great noise, and set up loud shouts. When the eclipse is past, they give themselves to feasting and drinking, and make great cheer. They foretell fortunate and unlucky days for all business. . . They are also invited when any child is born, to foretell its destiny." Rubruquis' Travels, chap. 52.

Marco Polo describes the astrologers as being able to work miracles, such as bringing storms or dispersing them. He says:—"They persuade the vulgar that these works are effected through the sanctity of their own lives and the merits of their penances; and presuming upon the reputation thus acquired they exhibit themselves in a filthy and indecent state." Marco Polo, Book i. chap. 57. The Hindú Yogis were thus nothing more than Moghul priests.

It might also be remarked that the Moghuls were the ruling tribe amongst the Tartars. They thus bear a resemblance to the Royal Scythians described by Herodotus, as well as to the Kshatriyas or Rajpoots of India.

Christians; some were Buddhists. Even those who did not change their religion were ready to pay worship to the four prophets—Jesus Christ, Muhammad, Moses, and Sakya Muni.[5] Indeed it was one of the laws of Chenghiz Khan that every priest was to be reverenced who taught the belief in one God. The working of this law is to be traced in almost every stage of Moghul history.[6]

Toleration amongst the Moghuls and Vedic Aryans.

The religious toleration of the Moghuls was not the outcome of political genius or philosophic indifference. It was the natural result of Moghul covetousness. The Moghuls were the most grasping people under the sun. They lost nothing by not asking. They worshipped any god; they implored the help of any saint or prophet. The same religious thought finds expression in the Vedic hymns. The Vedic people worshipped a thousand gods in turn; they prayed to one and all for the material blessings of this life. They did not pray for righteousness; they did not seek after righteousness; they did not pray in behalf of others. So far the Vedic people resembled the Moghuls. Whether this resemblance amounts to an identification will be seen from the after history.

Turkish Moghuls: Timúr and Bábar.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Moghuls who settled in Central Asia affected to be Turks. They married the women of the south. Their descendants lost the yellow complexions, high cheek-bones, flat noses, small eyes, and large mouths of the old Moghuls. They became full-faced, ruddy, and handsome, like the Turkish

[5] Marco Polo's Travels, Book II., chap. ii.

[6] See the Yasao, or Laws of Chenghiz Khan. Petit de la Croix, Book i. chap. 6.

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Sultans of Delhi. They were hedged around by Mussulmans; their wives were believers; consequently they became Mussulmans, or affected to be Mussulmans. It is doubtful whether they shut up their women in harems. Timúr, the invader of India in 1398-99, belonged to this type; in his day the women appeared with the men in the public festivals which were held in tented pavilions. Báber belonged to the same type; he was the sixth in descent from Timúr. It was Báber, and his son Humáyun, who laid the foundations of the Moghul empire in India in 1526—1556. Possibly it was not until after their conquest of Hindustan that the Moghuls secluded their women like the Mussulmans and Hindús by whom they were surrounded. Humáyun was half a Persian. His son Akber, who reigned between 1556 and 1605, was still more of a Persian. In both men the Moghul instincts were in full play. This point, however, will be brought out stronger in dealing with their history.

Timúr's invasion of India: Timúr no Mussulman.

The invasion of India by Timúr is an obscure episode in Indian history. He came, he plundered, he massacred; he then went away. He left officers to rule in his name, or rather to collect tribute in his name. He is said to have been a strict Mussulman of the Sunní religion; to all appearance he was not a Mussulman at all. No strict Mussulman would have made war upon a brother Mussulman. No strict Sunní would have attacked a brother Sunní. Timúr made war upon the Sultan of Delhi. The Sultan was a Sunní; he was maintaining the rule of Islam over idolaters. It is plain that Timúr was either no Mussulman, or only a Mussulman in name. He called himself a Sunní to

please the Turks and Afghans; he called himself a Shíah to please the Persians. The embassy of Clavijo reveals the fact that Timúr ignored the Koran. He drank wine with lords and ladies, after the manner of Belshazzar. He feasted his court on roasted horseflesh, after the manner of the Hindú Rajas of the Mahá Bhárata, and Rámáyana. He entertained men of all religions. He sent embassies to Christian princes. He was a Mussulman for political purposes; had circumstances been different, he might have been a Christian or a Jew.[7]

Birth of Báber, 1482.

The career of Báber is a romance. He was born in 1482. At the age of twelve he inherited the kingdom of Khokand to the north-east of Bokhara. Whilst still a youth he conquered Bokhara. About this time the Uzbeg Turks began to

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[7] See "Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timúr, 1403-6; translated for the Hakluyt Society by Mr Clements Markham. London: 1859." The graphic pictures of court life among the Moghuls, which are presented by Clavijo, are of the same character as those presented by Rubruquis and Marco Polo. Clavijo's descriptions are more refined.

Manouchi the Venetian, who professed to compile Memoirs of the Moghul dynasty in India from an authentic Moghul chronicle, gives the following account of Timúr:—"The Tartars of the time of Timúr were in general disciples of Muhammad. He himself followed the religion of Chenghiz Khan, which had been preserved in the family of the Moghuls. He adored the eternal God, invisible, infinite and almighty, without distinction of nature or persons, one only in unity. He observed the law of nature, contained in eight precepts, which are nearly the same with those of the Decalogue. He condemned the reveries of the Koran; he was equally the enemy of idolaters and Mussulmans. To the law of Jesus Christ he had no aversion." See Father Catrou's History of the Moghul dynasty.

This account tallies with what might have been inferred from a consideration of the life and career of Timúr. The authenticity of Manouchi has been treated in the preface. There is a so-called Autobiography of Timúr. It has been translated by Major Stewart for the Oriental Translation Committee. It represents Timúr as an exemplary Mussulman. It was originally written in Turkish, and represented Timúr as a Sunní. Shah Jehan, the grandson of Akber, ordered it to be translated into Persian, and altered in accordance with Persian history and ideas. It reveals a trimming between the Sunní, the Shíah, and Súfí religion. It praises saints and holy men of each persuasion.

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play a part in Central Asia. They drove Bábar out of both kingdoms. He continued, however, to fight on against the Uzbegs. Sometimes he was storming a city or defending a stronghold. At other times he was an exile in the desert, broken down by wounds and privations. Naturally he was light-hearted and sentimental. He was fond of drinking bouts with gay companions; he could weep over the memory of his old home and kinsfolk. At last he turned towards the south. He crossed the Oxus; he founded a kingdom in Kábul and Kandahar. There he reigned for some years. From the first he turned an eager eye towards the Punjab.[8]

Afghan rule in India.

Meanwhile the Punjab and Hindustan had become the prey of the Afghans. Ever since 1450 Afghan Sultans of the Lodi dynasty had been reigning at Delhi. Lawless Afghan chiefs had been spreading over northern India. They set up as independent princes. They held fortresses and exercised dominion, especially in the outlying provinces of Bihár and Bengal. They levied tribute and black mail. They were often in revolt against the Lodi Sultan of Delhi; they were often at war amongst themselves. They were turbulent, blood-thirsty, and treacherous. They bore a strong family likeness to their forefathers who rebelled against the house of David. They bore an equally strong likeness to their descendants, who are still rebelling and fighting in Herat and Kandahar.[9]

Antagonism between Moghul and Afghan.

The antagonism between Moghul and Afghan

[8] Bábar has written Memoirs of himself. They have been translated by Mr Erskine. See also Elliot's History of India, edited by Dowson, vol. iv. They are far more authentic than those of Timúr and Jehangír.

[9] Ferishta, translated by Briggs, vol. i.

is the key to the after history of India. The Moghuls were only nominal Mussulmans; those who were Mussulmans were mostly Shíahs. They displayed all the characteristics of Shíahs. They were ready to ally with Hindús when it served their purpose; they were equally as ready to make war upon the Hindús when occasion arose. They were not bound together by hereditary ties; they were held together solely by military command.[10] CHAPTER IV.

Afghans staunch Sunnís.

The Afghans were staunch Mussulmans and Sunnís. They were a debauched race; otherwise they had all the characteristics of Sunnís. They were bigoted in their religion; they were bitterly hostile to Hindús and Brahmanism.[11] They were distributed in families and clans; they were divided and distracted by hereditary feuds;[12] they were often open to the assault of an invader.

Báber defeats the Afghan Sultan, 1525-26.

In 1525 an Afghan Sultan, named Ibrahim Lodi, was reigning at Delhi. The Afghan empire in India was disaffected. The Afghan governor of the Punjab invited Báber to invade the country. The Rana of Chitór sent messengers to Kábul promising to attack Agra if Báber would attack Delhi. Báber obeyed the call. In the cold season of 1525-26 he

[10] This point will be explained hereafter, in dealing with the constitution of the Moghul empire in the reign of Akber.

[11] It has been stated that the history of the Lodi Sultans throws no light upon the collision between Mussulmans and Hindús. (See *ante*, page 76, *note*.) It should have been added that it illustrates the bitterness of the antagonism between Afghans and Hindús. Under their rule temples were broken down and mosques built in their room as in the days of Mahmúd of Ghazní. One Brahman was put to death by Sikandar Lodi Afghan for maintaining that the religions of Mussulmans and Hindús were equally acceptable to God. See Ferishta, vol. i., Briggs's translation.

[12] The revenge of an Afghan is a proverb in India. No man is said to be safe from the revenge of an elephant, a cobra, or an Afghan. See Ferishta, translated by Briggs, vol. i. page 547, *note*.

CHAPTER IV. crossed the Indus; he invaded the Punjab with ten thousand men. Ibrahim Lodi heard of his coming; he marched against Báber with a hundred thousand men. Báber watched his every movement; he soon saw that he had little to fear. The Afghan had no strategy, no plan, no foresight. Báber, on the contrary, was a veteran soldier, trained from his boyhood in fighting against the Uzbegs. Accordingly Báber gained the victory; Ibrahim Lodi was slain.[13]

Moghul occupation of Delhi: advance to Agra.

Báber at once occupied Delhi; he then pushed on for Agra. As he advanced the Hindús fled from the villages; he fell short of supplies. His soldiers became dispirited with the heat; they wanted to return to Kábul. At this crisis he found the whole Rajpoot army arrayed against him.

Rajpoots oppose Báber.

The Rana of Chitór had played a waiting game after Asiatic fashion. He had promised to cooperate with Báber; he never meant to do so. He wanted Báber to crush the Afghans. He expected Báber to plunder Delhi, and return to his own country, as Timúr had done. He then hoped to restore the Rajpoot dominion in Hindustan. He was baffled by the Moghul advance to Agra; he was aggrieved, and went out to fight Báber.

Moghul defeat of the Rana of Chitór.

Báber roused the spirit of his soldiers. He appealed to Moghul pride. He exhorted them to risk their lives for the sake of glory. He broke up his drinking-vessels on the field; he swore that henceforth he would never taste wine.[14] The battle

[13] Elliot's History of India, vol. iv.; Ferishta, vol. ii.; Bábar's Autobiography translated by Erskine. The history of the reign of Báber is based on these authorities.

[14] Báber relates this story in his Autobiography. It is open to question. Men who had been fighting against Afghan Sunnis were not likely to feel much zeal because Báber promised to leave off wine.

was fought at Sikri, a few miles from Agra. Báber gained the day. The Rajpoots were utterly routed; henceforth they gave him no more trouble. CHAPTER IV.

Báber had played his part like a Moghul. He made war against Mussulmans and Sunnís. He confederated with the idolatrous Rana against Mussulmans. If ever he professed to be a Sunní, it was only to ingratiate himself with the Afghans. Policy of Báber.

Báber only reigned four years. He was chiefly occupied in rooting the Afghans out of their strongholds. He died in 1530. Death of Báber, 1530.

Báber was succeeded by his son Humáyun.[15] The new Padishah had neither energy nor genius.[16] He offended all good Mussulmans by hankering after the religion of his Moghul ancestors. He divided his household affairs according to the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth. He built a pavilion with seven apartments of different colours to represent the sun, moon, and planets; he sat each day in a different apartment; he transacted business or took his pleasure according to the reigning luminary. The events of Humáyun's reign are obscure. He interfered in Rajpoot affairs. He made war on Guzerat. It is difficult to discover that he followed any definite policy. On the contrary, he was vain and foolish; he allowed an Afghan, named Sher Khan, to trick him out of his kingdom. Humáyun's reign: his Moghul proclivities.

The story is a striking illustration of Asiatic Humáyun out-

[15] The reign of Humáyun is based on the same authorities as that of Báber. Humáyun has written his own Memoirs. They teach little respecting the man himself.

[16] Europeans gave to each Moghul sovereign the title of emperor. The Moghuls called their sovereign Padishah. "Pad" signifies stability and possession; "Shah" means origin or lord. See Abul Fazl's preface to the Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Mr Blockmann. Frequent reference will be made to this invaluable work in dealing with Moghul history.

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Outwitted by Sher Khan the Afghan.

cleverness. Sher Khan held the fortress of Chunar, one of the strongest positions in Hindustan. It overhangs the Ganges; it commands the highway from the north-west into Bengal. Humáyun might have dislodged him, but Sher Khan was all submission. He was very respectful to Humáyun. He wished to hold the fortress, but only in the name of Humáyun. He sent his son with a troop of horse to fight in the Moghul army. Humáyun was flattered and gulled. He left Chunar in the hands of the Afghan; he went away westward to reduce the Sultan of Guzerat.

Defeat and exile of Humáyun.

When Humáyun returned from Guzerat, Sher Khan was master of all Bengal excepting Gour. Sher Khan was, in fact, at that very moment besieging Gour. Humáyun was not aware that Gour was in jeopardy; he knew enough to resolve on marching towards Bengal. At the first onset he found that the road was blocked up by the fortress of Chunar. Six months passed away before he could capture Chunar. After leaving Chunar he met a second block; the defile between the Ganges and Rajmahal hills was closed by Afghans.[17] Suddenly the Afghans disappeared. The road was clear; Humáyun pushed on to Gour. There he saw that he had been outwitted. Sher Khan had kept the Moghul army out of Bengal just long enough to suit his own purposes. He had plundered Gour; he had carried the booty to a safe place. Above all, he had hindered the advance of Humáyun until the beginning of the rains. On entering Bengal the Moghuls were doomed to destruction.

[17] Railway travellers will remember this defile. Its eastern end begins after leaving the station at Sahibgunj.

The country was under water. Numbers died of fever and dysentery brought on by the steamy atmosphere. When the rains were over Humáyun tried to cut his way back to Agra. The Afghans fell upon him; they drove the remains of his army into the Ganges. Humáyun escaped to Agra; he had lost his army. He was driven into exile; he left Sher Khan in possession of Hindustan and the Punjab.

Escape to Persia.

The further adventures of Humáyun are mere personal details. He found no refuge in India. He toiled painfully through the desert of Scinde. He suffered agonies from thirst and heat. At this juncture one of his wives gave birth to the celebrated Akber. At last he reached Persia and was entertained at court; he affected to become a Shíah. In this manner Humáyun passed fifteen years in exile.

Character of Sher Khan.

Meantime Sher Khan had founded a dynasty; it lasted fifteen years. Its history throws no light upon political or religious development. Sher Khan has been much belauded by Mussulman historians. According to them he built numerous caravanserais; he dug fifteen hundred wells between the Ganges and the Indus; he erected mosques on the highways; he planted fruit-trees on the highways; he introduced a fixed and universal standard of weights and measures. Most of this may be dismissed as oriental hyperbole.[18] Sher Khan

[18] The history of the reign of Sher Khan was composed by Abbas Khan. It was written many years after the death of Sher Khan by the order of the Emperor Akber. Abbas Khan was related by marriage to the family of Sher Khan. He wrote at a time when there was a deadly struggle between Afghans and Moghuls, between Sunnís and Shíahs. Abbas Khan was thus impelled by the pride of kinship, by Sunní prejudice, by Afghan proclivities, by every instinct in

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was an Afghan freebooter; he had seized an empire; he only reigned five years; he was constantly at war with the Rajpoots. It is monstrous to suppose that such a man would have had the time or inclination to dig wells, to plant fruit-trees, to build mosques and caravanserais. He did one thing which reveals his real character. A Rajpoot garrison had surrendered on condition of marching out with their arms and property. Sher Khan broke faith and slaughtered every man. It is obvious that he was as treacherous and bloodthirsty as the ordinary run of Afghans.[19]

Humáyun recovers his kingdom.

Sher Khan died on the throne; he was succeeded in turn by a son and a grandson. The grándson was murdered by an uncle who usurped the throne. The usurper had a Hindú favourite named Hemu.

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man's nature which makes a party writer, to belaud Sher Khan as a model sovereign. The history written by Abbas Khan sufficiently reveals the fact that a horrible anarchy prevailed throughout Hindustan; that Sher Khan kept down robbery and rebellion by sheer terrorism. Abbas Khan's history was translated by Mr E. C. Bayley. It is printed in Elliot's History of India, vol. iv. Professor Dowson adds that Abbas Khan fell into disgrace with Akber. No wonder. Akber was not likely to favour the historian who praised the enemy of Humáyun.

[19] There is a conflict between experience and evidence in dealing with the reign of Sher Khan. Experience teaches that an Afghan like Sher Khan could not have been the beneficent sovereign he is described. The fact is that Mussulman history from the beginning of the Shíah revolt grows more and more untrustworthy. Sultans are praised and blamed, not according to their merits or demerits, but according to whether they were Shíahs or Sunnís. Striking instances of the strength of this party-feeling will be found hereafter in dealing with the reign of Shah Jehan and Aurungzeb.

The conflict between experience and evidence disappears in dealing with the later history. The experience is supported by European evidence. The European evidence proves that so-called oriental historians were shameless flatterers. The most wicked and contemptible princes have been praised by party writers as the greatest of kings.

It is strange that Ferishta, who was a Shíah, should have repeated the praises that had been bestowed on Sher Khan. Ferishta, however, was an honest man; he tried to be impartial; he generally is impartial. In dealing with Sher Khan he was probably misled by Abbas Khan.

He made Hemu his minister. He advanced Hindús to rank and power to the prejudice of the Afghans; his proceedings drove the nobles into rebellion.[20] At this crisis Humáyun suddenly returned to India; he took possession of Delhi and Agra. He began the old work of restoring order. Within six months he was killed at Delhi by a fall from the parapet of his palace.[21]

Bábar and Humáyun were types of the transition period between the Moghul Turk and the Moghul Persian. Both were lax Mussulmans. In both religion was little better than lip-service. Humáyun was a professed Shíah. After his return from Persia nothing is said of his Moghul fancies. Probably he became a better Mussulman.

Bábar and Humáyun types of a transition period.

Akber, the son and successor of Humáyun, may be described as the first Moghul sovereign of the Persian epoch. Before attempting to delineate his character it will be necessary to glance at the leading events of the first twenty years of his reign.

Akber a Persian type.

Akber, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, ascended the throne in 1556. He was only a boy of fourteen; he was away in the Punjab fighting against the Afghans. A general of capacity, named Bairam Khan, was commanding the armies in the Punjab. When Humáyun died, Bairam Khan became guardian of Akber.

Akber Padishah: regency of Bairam Khan, 1556.

The reign of Akber is one of the most important in the history of India; it is one of the most important in the history of the world. It bears a strange

Importance of the reign.

[20] Hemu belonged to the same type as Malik Kafúr and Khuzru Khan.

[21] The history involves a curious coincidence. The Moghuls reigned fifteen years and were succeeded by Afghans. The Afghans reigned fifteen years and were succeeded by Moghuls.

CHAPTER IV. resemblance to that of Asoka. Indeed the likeness between Akber and Asoka is one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. They were separated from each other by an interval of eighteen centuries; the main features of their respective lives were practically the same.

Resemblance between Asoka and Akber.

Asoka was putting down revolt in the Punjáb when his father died; so was Akber. Asoka was occupied for years in conquering and consolidating his empire; so was Akber. Asoka conquered all India to the north of the Nerbudda; so did Akber. Asoka was tolerant of other religions; so was Akber. Asoka went against the priests; so did Akber. Asoka taught a religion of his own; so did Akber. Asoka abstained from flesh meat; so did Akber. In the end Asoka took refuge in Buddha, the law, and the assembly. In the end Akber recited the formula of Islam:—There is but one God, and Muhammad is his prophet.[22]

Similarity in religious development.

Some of these coincidents are mere accidents. Others reveal a similarity in the current of religious thought, a similarity in the stages of religious development; consequently they add a new chapter to the history of mankind.[23]

War against Hemu.

The wars of Akber are only interesting so far as they bring out types of character. When the news reached the Punjab that Humáyun was dead, other news arrived. Hemu had recovered Agra and Dèlhi; he was advancing with a large army

[22] Compare *ante*, vol. iii. chap. 5.

[23] It will be seen in the course of the after history that the Moghul emperors lived in the same fashion as the ancient Hindú Rajas of the type of Sandrokottos. They kept up large harems. They were often in camp with their armies. They went out on great hunting expeditions. They were guarded within the harem by a corps of Tartar women.

into the Punjab. The Moghul force was very small. The Moghul officers were in a panic; they advised a retreat into Kábul. Akber and Bairam Khan resolved on a battle. The Afghans were routed. The Hindú general was wounded in the eye and taken prisoner. Bairam Khan bade Akber slay the Hindú, and win the title of "Champion of the faith." Akber drew his sword, but shrunk back. He was brave as a lion; he would not hack a wounded prisoner. Bairam Khan had no such sentiment. He beheaded Hemu with his own sword.[24]

Contrast between Akber and Bairam Khan.

This story marks the contrast between the prince and his guardian. Akber was brave and skilful in the field; he was outwardly gracious and forgiving when the fight was over. Bairam Khan was loyal to the throne; he slaughtered enemies in cold blood without mercy. It was impossible that the two should agree. Akber grew more and more impatient of his guardian; for years he was as self-constrained as Ráma. He thought a great deal but did nothing; he bided his time.

Foundation of the Moghul empire.

Within four years Bairam Khan had laid the foundations of the Moghul empire. Its limits were as yet restricted. The Moghul pale only covered the Punjab, the North-west provinces, and Oude; it only extended from the Indus to the junction of the Jumna and Ganges. On the south it was bounded by Rajpootana. It included the three capitals of Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. So far it coincided with the kingdom of Alá-ud-dín, who conquered the Dekhan and Peninsula.

[24] The principal authorities for the life of Akber are Ferishta, vol. ii.; the Akber-náma of Abul Fazl, Elliot's History, vol. vi.; the Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, translated by Blockmann. See also Catrou's History of the Moghul dynasty, based on the memoirs drawn by Manouchi from the Moghul chronicles.

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Removal and death of Bairam Khan.

At the end of the four years Akber was a young man of eighteen. He resolved to throw off the authority of his guardian. He carried out his designs with the artifice of an Asiatic. He pretended that his mother was sick. He left the camp where Bairam Khan commanded in order to pay her a visit. He proclaimed that he had assumed the authority of Padishah; that no orders were to be obeyed save his own. Bairam Khan was taken by surprise. Possibly, had he known what was coming, he would have put Akber out of the way; but his power was gone. He tried to work upon the feelings of Akber; he found that the Padishah was inflexible. He revolted, but was defeated and forgiven. Akber offered him any post save that of minister; he would be minister or nothing. In the end he elected to go to Mecca, the last refuge for Mussulman statesmen. Everything was ready for his embarkation; suddenly he was assassinated by an Afghan. It was the old story of Afghan revenge. He had killed the father of the assassin in some battle; in revenge the son had stabbed him to death.

Hostility of Afghans; disaffection of Moghuls.

Akber was now free to act. The political situation was one of extreme peril. The Afghans were fighting one another in Kábul in the north-west; they were also fighting one another in Bihár and Bengal in the south-east. When he marched against one, his territories were exposed to the raids of the other. Meantime his Moghul officers often set his sovereignty at defiance; when brought to task they broke out in mutiny and rebellion. Two events at this period will show the actual state of affairs.

Affairs in Malwa.

Far away to the south of Rajpootana lies the re-

mote territory of Malwa. It was originally conquered by Alá-ud-dín. During the decline of the Tughlaks the governor of Malwa became an independent ruler. At the beginning of the reign of Akber, Baz Bahadur was ruler of Malwa. He was a type of the Mussulman princes of the time; no doubt he went to mosque; he surrounded himself with Hindú singing and dancing-girls; he became more or less Hinduised. Akber sent an officer named Adham Khan to conquer Malwa. Adham Khan had no difficulty. Baz Bahadur abandoned his treasures and harem and fled. Adham Khan distributed part of the spoil among his soldiers; he kept the treasures and harem for himself; he sent only a few elephants to the Padishah.[25] Akber could not brook such disobedience. Notwithstanding the distance he hurried to Malwa. He received his rightful share of the plunder; he professed to accept the excuses of the defaulter. When he returned to Agra he recalled Adham Khan to court; he sent another governor to Malwa. Adham Khan obeyed; he went to Agra; he found that he had lost favour. Commands were given to others; he could get nothing. He was driven mad by delay and disappointment. He did not suspect Akber; he threw the blame upon the minister. One day he went to the palace; he stabbed the minister to death in the hall of audience; he ran up to an outer terrace. Akber heard the uproar; he rushed in and beheld the bleeding corpse. He saw the stupefied murderer on the terrace; he half drew his sword, but remem-

[25] The Mussulmans generally respected the harems of their fellow-Mussulmans. They had no scruples as regards Hindú women. The favourite mistress of Baz Bahadur is said to have poisoned herself rather than yield to the advances of Adham Khan.

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bered himself. Adham Khan seized his hands and begged for mercy. Akber shook him off and ordered the servants to throw him from the terrace. The order was obeyed; Adham Khan was killed on the spot.

Affairs in Bihár and Oude.

Another officer, named Khan Zemán, played a similar game in Bihár. He was warned that Akber was on the move; he escaped punishment by making over the spoil before Akber came up. This satisfied Akber; he returned part of the spoil and went back to Agra. Henceforth Khan Zemán was a rebel at heart. Some Uzbeg chiefs revolted in Oude; they were joined by Khan Zemán. Akber was called away to the Punjab by an Afghan invasion; on his return the rebels were in possession of Oude and Allahabad. Akber marched against them in the middle of the rains. He outstripped his army; he reached the Ganges with only his body-guard. The rebels were encamped on the opposite bank; they had no fear; they expected Akber to wait until his army came up. That night Akber swam the river with his body-guard. At day-break he attacked the enemy. The rebels heard the thunder of the imperial kettle-drums; they could not believe their ears. They fled in all directions. Khan Zemán was slain in the pursuit. The other leaders were taken prisoners; they were trampled to death by elephants. Thus for awhile the rebellion was stamped out.

Decay of Islam.

These incidents are only types of others. In plain truth, the Mussulman power in India had spent its force. The brotherhood of Islam had ceased to bind together conflicting races; it could not hold together men of the same race. The struggle be-

tween Shíah and Sunní was dividing the world of Islam. Moghuls, Turks, and Afghans were fighting against each other; they were also fighting amongst themselves. Rebels of different races were combining against the Padishah. Meantime any scruples that remained against fighting fellow-Mussulmans were a hindrance to Akber in putting down revolts. The Mussulman power was crumbling to pieces. The dismemberment had begun two centuries earlier in the revolt of the Dekhan. Since then the strength which remained in the scattered fragments was wasted in wars and revolts; the whole country was drifting into anarchy. CHAPTER IV.

Statesmanship necessary to save the empire

No one could save the empire but a born statesman. Akber had already proved himself a born soldier. Had he been only a soldier he might still have held his own against Afghans and Uzbegs from Peshawar to Allahabad. Had he been bloodthirsty and merciless, like Bairam Khan, he might have stamped out revolt and mutiny by massacre and terrorism. But he would have left no mark in history, no lessons for posterity, no political ideas for the education of the world. He might have made a name like Chenghiz Khan or Timúr; but the story of his life would have dropt into oblivion. After his death every evil that festered in the body politic would have broken out afresh. His successors would have inherited the same wars, the same revolts, and the same mutinies; unless they had inherited his capacity, they would have died out in anarchy and revolution.

New force wanted to overawe Afghans.

Akber had never been educated. He had never learnt to write, nor even to read. He had not gone with his father to Persia, where he might have been

CHAPTER IV. schooled in Mussulman learning. He had spent a joyless boyhood with a cruel uncle in Kábul; he had been schooled in nothing but war. But he had listened to histories, and pondered over histories, until grand ideas began to seethe in his brain. The problem before him was the resuscitation of the empire; or rather the creation of a new empire out of the existing chaos. Fresh blood was wanted to infuse life and strength into the body politic; to enable the Moghul Shíahs to subdue the Afghan Sunnís. Akber saw with the eye of genius that the necessary force was latent in the Rajpoots. Henceforth he devoted all the energies of his nature to bring that force into healthy play.

Latent force of Rajpoots.

It is easy to realize the train of ideas which ran through the mind of Akber. The princes of Rajpootana, the children of the sun and moon, had been the ancient sovereigns of India. They had been conquered by the Mussulmans; they had never become a subject people; they still retained their independence. Akber sought to conquer them; not to drive them from their thrones; not to take possession of their territories; but to weld them into the body politic. He looked to this Rajpoot element to counterbalance the Afghan element; to overcome Moghul disaffection. He thought to blend the Rajpoot with the Mussulman; to mould them into one imperial system. The idea was generous; it was utterly impracticable. Akber ignored all distinctions of race and religion. He sought to amalgamate Rajpoots and Mussulmans into one empire. His successes and his errors are lessons for all time.

The story of Akber's wars in Rajpootana is of

small moment. It illustrates the bravery, the delirium, the self-sacrifice of the Rajpoots; the superiority of Mussulmans; the genius and audacity of Akber himself. It throws no light upon Mussulman developments. The entire interest of the story centres in his policy. His object was to induce the three leading princes of Rajpootana—Jaipúr, Jodhpúr and Chitór—to pay him homage and give him each a daughter in marriage. The Rajpoot princes revolted at the demand; it was repugnant to all their ideas of religion, caste, and royalty. Akber was inexorable. He insisted upon having a Rajpoot element in the dynasty as well as in the empire. He saw that the Rajpoot league had endured for twenty centuries by reason of its intermarriages; that every feudatory prince was bound to his lord paramount, the Rana of Chitór, by the pride of giving him a daughter in marriage, and of receiving a daughter in marriage. By a union with the daughters of the princes of Rajpootana Akber would break up the Rajpoot league. Nothing is said of his giving daughters in return.[26]

Akber's Rajpoot marriages.

The Raja of Jaipúr was the first to yield. The Raja of Bikanír followed. In return they were received with high honours at the court of Akber; they were enrolled amongst the nobles of his empire. The Raja of Jodhpúr submitted after a

Submission of Jaipúr and Jodhpúr: independence of the Rana.

[26] Father Catrou distinctly states that it was part of the policy of Akber to give Moghul princesses in marriages to Hindú Rajas. This was possibly the case; the fact, however, would be ignored by Mussulman historians. There is a Hindú tradition of a Sultan of Delhi giving a daughter to a Raja of Karnata; it has in like manner been ignored by Mussulman historians. Father Catrou's history is based on the Memoirs of Manouchi the Venetian; Manouchi professes to draw his memoirs from the chronicles of the Moghul court. The existence of contemporary chronicles is undeniable. They were ultimately abolished by Aurungzeb.

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severe struggle; he was well rewarded for the sacrifice. He was placed at the right hand of the Padishah; he received large additions to his dominion. Many chiefs of Rajpootana paid their homage to Akber. The Rana of Chitór never gave in. He became an exile and outlaw rather than pay homage to another sovereign, or give a daughter in marriage to the Moghul.[27]

Bitterness of Mussulmans at the Rajpoot marriages.

Akber is said to have been much attached to his Hindú wives. With the easy indifference of a Moghul, he entertained Bráhmans on their account; he joined in their worship and sacrifices. But the Rajpoot marriages were regarded with bitter feelings by the Mussulmans. This fact is not stated in history; it is only to be inferred from history. No one dared to blame the Padishah; but the names of Akber's brides are never mentioned by Mussulman historians.[28]

[27] The question of marriages in connection with state alliances opens up a curious inquiry. In primitive times men fought for women; the woman became the prize of the conqueror. Out of this usage grew up a law of war that the wife or daughter of the conquered became the prize of the conqueror. Later on political alliances were cemented by intermarriages. Polygamy led to further developments; a conqueror gloried in filling his harem with the daughters of the conquered. Caste ideas led the conquered to regard the sacrifice with horror. Amasis, king of Egypt, shrank from sending his daughter to Cambyses. The Arab Khalif of Bagdad refused to give his daughter to Toghrul Beg, the Seljuk Turk. The Emperor of China suffered all the unutterable horrors of a protracted siege rather than give his daughter to Chenghiz Khan. In like manner the Rajpoots were accustomed to slaughter their wives and daughters to preserve them from profanation. In the days of Akber they must have been coaxed and bribed into submission. To this day the Rajpoot marriages of Akber are a mystery.

[28] Jehangír, the son and successor of Akber, was evidently born of a Rajpoot princess. He has written his own autobiography; he never once mentions his mother by name, or even alludes to her. This is all the more remarkable as he mentions the names of the different mothers of all his brothers and sisters. Moreover, he names the mothers of his own sons and daughters, Rajpoot as well as Mussulmani. The mother of his eldest son Khuzru was a princess of Jaipúr. The mother of Shah Jehan and Shahryár was a princess of Jodhpúr. Possibly the bitterness of the marriages had not died out in his reign. He may have still felt sore about his own birth; he regarded that of his children with complacency.

Political antagonisms.

The policy of Akber proved partly successful. The empire was saved from destruction; it entered upon a new life. The Padishah began to put down disaffection and mutiny. The Rajpoots overawed Moghuls and Afghans. There were revolts, wars for the succession, and troubles of various kinds; but the Moghul empire was built up on lasting foundations. For more than a century and a half its prestige was unquestionable. Elements of dismemberment were at work. There were antagonisms between Moghul Shíahs and Afghan Sunnís; between Afghans and Rajpoots; between Mussulmans and Hindús. Still the empire held together. How it held together is the problem to be solved. How it fell to pieces is the lesson to be borne in mind.

Success of Akber's military policy.

This measure of success was not due to the Rajpoot marriages. Indeed, it will be seen hereafter, that much evil was wrought by these marriages. It was due entirely to the military policy of Akber. He admitted the Rajpoot princes to a share in the glory and honour of the imperial army. He gave them what they wanted, and the only thing they wanted—military command. The aspirations of the Rajpoot princes harmonized with the Moghul constitution. The Moghuls had no hereditary nobility outside the royal family. The Padishah was the sole fountain of honour, and the fountain of all honour. He gave rank at will; all rank was military rank. He gave titles at will; every title was associated with the idea of loyalty. The emoluments took the form of military pay. Every grandee was appointed to command a certain number of horse. He maintained about a third of the number;

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he drew pay for the whole.[29] Rank and title might be given in a moment; in a moment they might be taken away.[30]

Elements of antagonism.

The political working of this policy will appear hereafter. For the present it will suffice to realize the elements that were in antagonism.

Moghul aristocracy: not hereditary.

The Moghul nobility in India was an aristocracy of white-complexioned foreigners. They had nothing that was hereditary. All foreigners with a fair complexion were termed Moghuls. They might be Persians, Turks, or Arabs; still they were termed Moghuls. The Padishah took his nobles from this

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[29] After the death of Akber there was a much greater disparity between the pay of the rank and the number of horse actually maintained. Both were fixed by the Padishah; the disparity was greater in some than in others. Bernier mentions a grandee who ranked as commander of five thousand horse and only maintained five hundred.

[30] The working of the military administration will appear in the progress of the history. It will be seen that the Moghul army was weak and loose in its organization; it was of some political value in holding the empire together. Prince Selim, the eldest son of Akber, was commander of ten thousand horse; Murád, the second son, was commander of eight thousand. Danyál, the third son, was commander of seven thousand. No one, excepting a son of the Padishah, held a higher rank than commander of five thousand. The son of Prince Selim, the crown prince, only held the rank of five thousand. There were twenty-one grades, beginning with five thousand and ending in two hundred. All these are enumerated in the Ain-i-Akbari; Mr Blockmann has furnished the names and biography of every individual in these grades. Altogether there were four hundred and fifteen Amírs and Mansubdars in the above grades. There were also nearly fourteen hundred officers of lower rank, who are not named. Bernier had a low opinion of the Moghul grandees.

Mr Blockmann includes Amírs and Mansubdars in the same list. But there was a marked difference between the two ranks. Bernier, in his letter to Colbert, states that no Mansubdar received less than a hundred and fifty rupees a month, or more than seven hundred. It may be inferred from this statement that all military officers drawing higher pay belonged to the rank of Amírs.

Mr Blockmann remarks that the list of Amírs and Mansubdars discloses two important facts. First, that there were very few Hindustani Mussulmans in the higher ranks; most of the officers being foreigners, especially Persians and Afghans. Secondly, that there was a fair sprinkling of Hindús,—namely, fifty-one Hindús among the four hundred and fifteen Mansubdars. Mr Blockmann does not state the reason why there were so few Hindustani Mussulmans in the higher ranks; it was because such men soon lost their white complexion.

class; they were ranked according to their commands.[31] The highest class comprised the Amírs; they might be regarded as the nobles properly so called, the grandees of the empire; they might be made governors, viceroys, or ministers. A second class was known as Mansubdars; a third class was known as Ahadis. Mansubdars and Ahadis were military officers.[32]

Exclusiveness of the white complexioned.

It was impossible for such an aristocracy to be hereditary. As a matter of fact it was less hereditary than the civil and military services of the British empire. In the third generation the complexion became brown. The grandsons of the greatest Amírs were thus ineligible for command; they often served in the ranks as common soldiers.

No landed property.

Every noble and officer of the Moghuls, from the lowest Ahadi to the highest Amír, was entirely dependent upon the Padishah. Their lives and goods were at his disposal. They were his slaves. They could not possess land; all the land was the property of the Padishah. They could not leave their property to their wives and families; the Padishah inherited the property of all his nobles

[31] The term Moghul was popularly applied to all foreign Mussulmans with fair complexions. Neither religion nor race was regarded by Akber and his immediate successors. A fair complexion was the main point. It will be seen hereafter that a Christian or an Englishman might take rank amongst the Moghul officers.

[32] There is reason to believe that India had been governed by fair-complexioned foreigners from the remotest antiquity. The Vedic conquerors of India were fair. Indra was the protector of the white-skinned Aryans against the black-skinned aborigines. Rajpoots and Bráhmans were a fair or golden-complexioned people; they affected to be descended from the sun. In time they became darker; the tradition of their origin still remained. Rajpoots and Bráhmans maintained their rule by the rigour of the *caste system*; the force of deeply-rooted superstition; the authority of endless genealogies. But the white-complexioned Mussulmans soon overthrew the suzerainty of Hindú Rajas. The Rajpoots alone maintained a desperate struggle in their mountain fastnesses. The Turk, the Afghan, and the Moghul were in turn the sovereigns of India.

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and officers. If the dead man had rendered good service to the Padishah whilst he was alive, a small pension might be given to his family, or a small post might be given to his eldest son. Otherwise the family was reduced to beggary.[33]

Rajpoot aristocracy: hereditary and feudal.

The Rajpoot system was radically different from the Moghul system. With the Rajpoots nothing was personal; everything was hereditary. Every Rajpoot held his lands in return for military service. All commands were hereditary. The vassal served his lord; the lord served his Raja; the Raja served his suzerain. Akber did not interfere with this system; he only became suzerain in the place of the Rana of Chitór. Many Rajpoot princes held out; but Akber's offers were very tempting. He left the Rajas in full possession of their dominions and revenues. He took the Rajas and their armies into his own pay. He raised the Rajas to the rank of Amírs; he gave them the pay he gave to Amírs. In return they were at his beck and call; they paid him homage; they made him presents. Some attended at court; others served in the provinces.

Amalgamation of Moghul and Rajpoot impossible.

There were thus two rival armies in the state, the Moghul and the Rajpoot. The Moghul army was composed of mercenaries; the officers were as mercenary as the men. The Rajpoot army was composed of feudal vassals; men who had obeyed their lords from generation to generation. It was impossible that the two should amalgamate. Their

[33] The origin of the Moghul system of a white-complexioned nobility is a problem. Possibly it may be referred to a remote period in Moghul history. The Moghuls were a royal tribe. Depriving the nobility of all hereditary rights is another problem. Manouchi says that Bábar was the founder of the system; but Bábar never had the power to carry it out. Possibly it was founded by Akber with the help of the Rajpoot princes.

natures were different; their instincts were different. That Akber made every effort to amalgamate the two cannot be doubted. The Rajpoots were flattered; the Moghuls became Hinduized. Within three or four generations the Moghuls became absorbed in the native population. The collision between Moghul and Rajpoot, and the working of the Afghan element, are the main points of interest in the history of the Moghul empire. CHAPTER IV.

Political aspect of the empire, 1575.

In 1575 Akber was about thirty-four years of age. Twenty years had passed away since the boy had been installed as Padishah. He had not as yet conquered Kábul in the north-west, nor Bengal in the south-east; he had not made any sensible advance into the Dekhan. But he had gained a succession of victories. He had restored order in the Punjab and Hindustan. He had subdued Malwa, Guzerat, and Rajpootana. Many Rajpoots were still in arms against him; he had nothing to fear from them. He had fixed his capital at Agra; his favourite residence, however, was at Fathpúr Sikri, about twelve miles from Agra.[34]

Personal characteristics of Akber.

It is easy to individualize Akber. He was haughty, like all the Moghuls; he was outwardly clement and affable. He was tall and handsome; broad in the chest, and long in the arms. His complexion was ruddy, a nut-brown. He had a good appetite and a good digestion. His strength was prodigious. His courage very remarkable. Whilst yet a boy he displayed prodigies of valour in the battle against Hemu. He would spring on the backs

[34] The distance between Fathpúr and Agra was not of much consequence. The interval was filled up by a bazar. It was also very easy to go by boat from one place to another.

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of elephants, who had killed their keepers; he would compel them to do his bidding. He kept a herd of dromedaries; he gained his victories by the rapidity of his marches. He was an admirable marksman. He had a favourite gun which had brought down thousands of game. With that same gun he shot Jeimal the Rajpoot at the siege of Chitór.[35]

Religion of Akber; a lax Mussulman.

Akber, like his father and grandfather, professed to be a Mussulman. His mother was a Persian; he was a Persian in his thoughts and ways. He was imbued with the old Moghul instinct of toleration. He was lax and indifferent, without the semblance of zeal. He consulted soothsayers who divined with burnt rams' bones. He celebrated the Persian festival of the Nau-roz, or new year, which has no connection with Islam. He reverenced the seven heavenly bodies, by wearing a dress of a different colour on every day in the week. He joined in the Brahmanical worship and sacrifices of his Rajpoot queens. Still he was outwardly a Mussulman. He had no sons; he vowed that if a son was born to him he would walk on foot to the tomb of a Mussulman saint at Ajmír; it was more than two hundred miles from Fathpúr. In 1570 his eldest son Selim was born; Akber walked to Ajmír; he offered up his prayers at the tomb.[36]

Persecution of Shiahs by the Sunni Ulamá.

Meantime the Ulamá were growing troublesome at Agra. The Ulamá, as already seen, comprised

[35] See the description of Akber in the Autobiography of Jehangír.

[36] The main authority for the religion of Akber is the Aín-i-Akbari, translated, with notes, by Mr Blockmann. See especially Mr Blockmann's long note on the religion of Akber. It comprises translations of valuable extracts from Badauni's history. Badauni was an honest Mussulman who hated the innovations of Akber.

the collective body of Mussulman doctors and lawyers who resided at the capital. The Ulamá have always possessed great weight in a Mussulman state. Judges, magistrates, and law officers in general, are chosen from their number. Consequently the opinion of the collective body was generally received as the final authority. The Ulamá at Agra were bigoted Sunnís. They hated and persecuted the Shíahs. Especially they persecuted the teachers of the Súfí heresy, which had grown up in Persia, and was spreading in India. They had grown in power under the Afghan Sultans. They had been quiet in the days of Humáyun and Bairam Khan; both were confessedly Shíahs; the Ulamá were too courtly to offend the power which appointed the law officers. When, however, Abker threw over Bairam Khan, and asserted his own sovereignty, the Ulamá became more active. They were anxious to keep the young Padishah in the right way. They were filled with wrath at a damnable schism which was spreading abroad in India. This schism kept the minds of Mussulmans in a constant ferment. It turned away the hearts of Sunnís towards the Shíah faith. It stirred up the rancour of Mussulmans in general against the Ulamá themselves. CHAPTER IV.

This schism was one of the most remarkable religious movements of the time. It corresponds in a notable manner with similar movements within the pale of Christianity. From an early period in Mussulman history it had been prophesied that the eleventh century of the Hijra would be the millennium of Islam. The coming of the millennium was to be preceded by an important sign. There would be a Millennium of Islam.

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general decay of real religion; an absolute necessity for the advent of a prophet. The prophet expected was known as the Imám Mahdi, the Lord of the period. Mahdi was the last of the twelve Imáms.[37] He had already lived on earth, but had disappeared. He was expected to re-appear, to convert the world, to usher in the millennium.

Fanaticism of the Mahdis, or believers in the millennium.

The decay of Islam in the sixteenth century was obvious to all orthodox believers. Indeed, the decay of religion is always obvious to zealots. Fanatics are always ready to denounce the wickedness of the times, to proclaim the advent of a prophet, to herald the dawn of a millennium. The multitude are always grateful to know that they are living at an important crisis; on the eve of some portentous catastrophe which is to aggrandize themselves and chastise everybody else. In the sixteenth century the period of a thousand years was actually drawing to a close. The year 1000 of the Hijra corresponded to the year 1591-92 of the Christian era. Accordingly fanaticism was developing into frenzy. The wickedness of the times was ascribed to the worldliness of the Ulamá. Street-preachers denounced the Ulamá on all sides;—their pharisaic pride, vain learning, intriguings for office, and general corruption. The oratory was popular with the masses. The Ulamá combined the functions of judges and magistrates with those of lawyers and divines. Consequently when the fanatics raised the cry, every man with a

[37] The twelve Imáms bear no resemblance to the twelve disciples or the twelve apostles of Christianity. They were hereditary representatives of Ali and his two sons. Ali was the first Imám. His two sons, Hasan and Husain, were the second and third. The descent then ran from Ali, the son of Husain, down to Mahdi, the last of the twelve. Mahdi flourished many centuries ago; he is supposed to be still living. To this day the advent of Mahdi is still expected, by Sunnis as well as by Shiahs.

grievance, every man smarting under injustice, was ready to join in the chorus. Meantime earnest men were preaching that the Lord of the period was about to appear. They formed brotherhoods holding property in common. They abandoned their ordinary avocations, and lived on charity. They met together every day to rant and pray. They devoted themselves, heart and soul, to converting backsliders and preparing the world for Mahdi. The natural result followed. False Mahdis appeared in all directions, surrounded by crack-brained disciples. Disorders broke out which necessitated the interference of the law. Judges and magistrates were only too glad of an excuse for persecuting schismatics and heretics of every kind.

Shaikh Mubárak.

The fanaticism was not confined to the lower orders; neither was the persecution. Many men of distinguished learning caught the infection. Amongst others was a famous Shaikh named Mubárak. Shaikh Mubárak is a type of a class of fanatics; he is also a type of the independent thinkers of the sixteenth century. He was born as far back as 1505, when the Afghan Sultans were reigning at Delhi; he lived down to the year 1593, when the reign of Akber was drawing to a close.

Súfiism, Christianity, and Brahmanism.

The religious condition of India in the sixteenth century may be easily realized. For centuries the Koran had dominated over the Mussulmans of India. Meantime the Shíah element had risen to the surface; the Mussulmans had become separated into the two hostile camps of Sunní and Shíah. During the sixteenth century three other currents of religious thought were running into India. One was flowing from Persia in the form of Súfíism associated with

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sun and fire worship. A second was flowing from the Portuguese at Goa in the form of Roman Catholic Christianity. A third had begun much earlier. It flowed out of the collision between Islam and Brahmanism. Religious teachers, of whom Kabir and Nanuk were types, were teaching a pure morality and pure theism. Practically they enforced the idea that the God of the Mussulmans and the God of the Hindús was one and the same.[38]

Career of Shaikh Mubárak.

Shaikh Mubárak was born in 1505. He was brought up as a strict Sunní. Like other students of the time, he spent many years of his early life in travelling through Hindustan, the Punjab, and perhaps Central Asia. He had gone from one famous teacher to another, gathering instruction on his way, until he had acquired an encyclopedic knowledge. He had abandoned the strict tenets of the Sunnís. He had become a Shíah. Finally he had developed into an advanced Súfí. After his wanderings he had settled near Agra, where he obtained one of those grants of land which are given by Mussulman sovereigns for the support of learned men. He married and had two sons, Abul Faiz and Abul Fazl. Subsequently he took an active part in the Mahdi movement. The Ulamá became bitterly hostile to him. They took away his land. They reported to Akber that the Shaikh was damning himself, and leading others into damnation; that death was his fitting punishment. They even ob-

[38] The political events which led to these phenomena may be borne in mind. In Persia the Shíah religion had developed into Súfiism; it had also survived the old Persian nationality. In 1500 Persia had become independent under the dynasty known as the Súfí Shahs. About the same time the Portuguese were founding their maritime empire at Goa. The third movement is more obscure. It will suffice to recognize its existence.

tained an order for his arrest. Mubárak was warned in time, and fled for his life; he left his two sons behind at Agra. CHAPTER IV.

Abul Faiz the Súfí: Abul Fazl the Universalist.

The sons of Shaikh Mubárak were destined to exercise a vast influence over their contemporaries. The elder, Abul Faiz, was content to be a Súfí poet, and nothing more. He was a mystic, who borrowed his imagery from flowers and perfumes, from beauty and intoxication. Sometimes he poured forth the yearnings of his soul in intelligible poetry; at others he expressed his aspirations after God in the language of the lover and the wine-bibber. His verses reached the ears of Akber; the young Padishah had no taste for poetry in general; he was sufficiently interested in the new ideas to invite Abul Faiz to court. Henceforth the fortunes of the Mubárak family began to brighten. The Ulamá ceased to persecute; Mubárak returned to Agra.

Genius and aspirations of Abul Fazl.

Abul Fazl, the younger son of the Shaikh, had a larger genius and higher ambition than his elder brother. Whilst yet a boy he was versed in all the learning of the day; he yearned after more knowledge. To use his own language, he longed to study the great religions of the world at their fountain-heads; to sit at the feet of the Christian padres of Goa, the Buddhist monks of Thibet, the Parsí priests who were learned in the Zendavesta. The rise of his elder brother turned his ambition into another channel. Abul Faiz introduced him to Akber. He made a deep impression on Akber. Gradually he gained a powerful influence over Akber. In the end he became the trusted minister of Akber; the confidential friend of the Padishah.

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Relations between Akber and Abul Fazl.

Akber and Abul Fazl were certainly men of genius. They are still the bright lights of Indian history. They were the foremost men of their time. But each had a characteristic weakness. Akber was a born Moghul. With all his good qualities he was proud, ignorant, inquisitive, and self-sufficient. Abul Fazl was a born courtier. With all his good qualities he was a flatterer, a time-server, and a eulogist; he made Akber his idol; he bowed down and worshipped him. They became close friends; they were indeed necessary to each other. Akber looked to his minister for praise; Abul Fazl looked to his master for advancement. It is difficult to admire the genius of Akber without seeing that he has been worked upon by Abul Fazl. It is equally difficult to admire the genius of Abul Fazl without seeing that he is pandering to the vanity of Akber.

Akber troubled by the Ulamá.

When Akber made the acquaintance of Abul Fazl he was in sore perplexity. He was determined to rule men of all creeds with even hand. The Ulamá were thwarting him. The Chief Justice at Agra had sentenced men to death for being Shíahs and heretics. The Ulamá were urging the Padishah to do the same. He was reluctant to quarrel with them; he was still more reluctant to sanction their high-handed proceedings towards men who worshipped the same God but after a different fashion.

Abul Fazl's hatred against the Ulamá.

How far Akber opened his soul to Abul Fazl is unknown. No doubt Abul Fazl read his thoughts. Indeed, he had his own wrongs to avenge. The Ulamá had persecuted his father and driven him into exile. The Ulamá were ignorant, bigoted, and puffed up with pride and orthodoxy. Their learning was confined to Arabic and the Koran. They

ignored what they did not know and could not understand. Abul Fazl must have hated and despised them. He was far too courtly, too self-constrained, too astute to express his real sentiments. The Ulamá were at variance with the Padishah; they were also at variance amongst themselves. Possibly he foresaw that if they disputed before Akber they might excite his contempt. How far he worked upon Akber can never be ascertained. In the end Akber ordered that the Ulamá should discuss all questions in his presence; he would then decide who was right and who was wrong. CHAPTER IV.

There is no evidence that Abul Fazl suggested this course. It was, however, the kind of incense that a courtier would offer to a sovereign like Akber. The learned men were to lay their opinions before the Padishah; he was to sit and judge. If he needed help Abul Fazl would be at his side. Indeed, Abul Fazl would ask questions and invite opinions. He, the Padishah, would only hear and decide. Accordingly preparations were made for the coming debates.[39] Religious controversies.

The discussions were held on Thursday even- Thursday even-

[39] It is a curious fact that the old sovereigns of India took special pleasure in religious controversy. The Chinese pilgrims and the Hindu legends alike bear evidence to this characteristic. It especially belonged to the age when Brahmanism was struggling against Buddhism; when the religion of gods and priests was fighting against a system of atheism and morality. The old Moghul Khans had a strong taste for it. Whilst recognizing the principle of toleration, they liked to hear Mussulmans, Christians, and Buddhists arguing against each other. The controversy held in the court of Akber originated in a similar spirit; it excited similar feelings in the sovereign and the courtiers.

This love for religious controversy prevails amongst some of the Rajpoot princes of the present day. They delight in hearing disputes between Brahmans, Mussulmans, and Christians. For this information I am indebted to the Rev. John Robson, who was a missionary in Rajpootana for twelve years. Mr Robson is the author of "Christianity and Hinduism compared."

CHAPTER IV. ings' discussions.

ings. They were carried on in a large pavilion; it was built for the purpose in the royal garden at Fathpúr Sikri. All the learned men at Agra were invited to attend. The Padishah and all the grandees of the empire were present. Abul Fazl acted as a kind of director. He started questions; he expounded his master's policy of toleration. Akber preserved his dignity as Padishah. He listened with majestic gravity to all that was said. Occasionally he bestowed praises and presents upon the best speakers.

Discomfiture of the Ulamá.

For many evenings the proceedings were conducted with due decorum. As, however, the speakers grew accustomed to the presence of the Padishah, the spirit of dissent began to work. One evening it led to an uproar; learned men reviled each other before the Padishah. No doubt Abul Fazl did his best to make the Ulamá uncomfortable. He shifted the discussion from one point to another. He started dangerous subjects. He placed them in dilemmas. If they sought to please the Padishah they sinned against the Koran; if they stuck to the Koran they offended the Padishah. A question was started as to Akber's marriages. One orthodox magistrate was too conscientious to hold his tongue; he was removed from his post.[40] The courtiers saw that the Padishah delighted in the discomfiture of the Ulamá. They began to charge the Ulamá with inconsistency, trickery, and cheating. The law officers were unable to defend themselves. Their authority and

[40] Akber had married more than four wives. The Sunnís are strict upon this point. Akber, however, was anxious that his Rajpoot wives should be on the same footing as his Mussulman wives. The Shíahs were in his favour. He became a Shíah.

orthodoxy were set at nought. They were fast drifting into disgrace and ruin. They had cursed one another in their speech; probably in their hearts they were all agreed in cursing Abul Fazl. CHAPTER IV

By this time Akber held the Ulamá in small esteem. He was growing sceptical of their religion. He had listened to the history of the Khalifat; he yearned towards Ali and his family; he became in heart a Shíah. Already he may have doubted Muhammad and the Koran. Still he was outwardly a Mussulman. His object now was to overthrow the Ulamá altogether; to become himself the supreme spiritual head; the Pope or Khalif of Islam. Abul Fazl was labouring to invest him with the same authority. He mooted the question one Thursday evening. It raised a storm of opposition; for this he was prepared. He had started the idea; he exerted all his tact and skill to carry it out. Akber a Shiah: aspires to be Khalif.

The debates proved that there were differences of opinion among the Ulamá. Abul Fazl urged that there were differences of opinion between the highest Mussulman authorities; between those who were accepted as infallible, and were known as Mujtahids. He thus inserted the thin end of the wedge. He proposed that when the Mujtahids disagreed the decision should be left to the Padishah. Weeks and months passed away in these discussions. Nothing could be said against the measure excepting what would prove offensive to the Padishah. Thin end of the wedge.

Meantime a document was drawn up in the names of the chief men amongst the Ulamá. It gave the Padishah the power of deciding between the conflicting authorities. It gave him the still more The document breaking up of the Ulama.

CHAPTER IV. dangerous power of issuing fresh decrees, provided they were in accordance with some verse of the Koran, and were manifestly for the benefit of the people. The document was in the handwriting of Shaikh Mubárak; Abul Fazl, Abul Faiz, and probably Akber himself, had each a hand in the composition. The chief men amongst the Ulamá were required to sign it. Perhaps if they had been priests or divines they might have resisted to the last. But they were magistrates and judges; their posts and emoluments were in danger. In the end they signed it in sheer desperation. From that day the power of the Ulamá was gone; they had abdicated their authority to the Padishah; they became mere ciphers in Islam. A worse lot befell their leaders. The head of the Ulamá and the obnoxious Chief Justice were removed from their posts and forced to go to Mecca.

Results. The breaking up of the Ulamá is an epoch in the history of Mussulman India. The Ulamá may have been ignorant and bigoted; they may have sought to keep religious belief and the government of the empire within the narrow grooves of orthodoxy. Nevertheless they had played an important part throughout Mussulman rule. As exponents of the law of Muhammad they had often proved a salutary check upon the despotism of the sovereign. They had forced every minister, governor, and magistrate to respect the fundamental principles of the Koran. They led and controlled public opinion among the Mussulman population. They formed the only body in the state that ever ventured to oppose the will of the sovereign.

The Thursday evenings had done their work.

Within four years they had broken up the power of the Ulamá. Abul Fazl had another project in his brain; it combined the audacity of genius with the mendacity of a courtier. He declared that Akber was himself the twelfth Imám, the Lord of the period, who was to reconcile the seventy-two sects of Islam, to regenerate the world, to usher in the millennium. The announcement took the court by surprise. It fitted, however, into current ideas; it paved the way for further assumptions. Akber grasped the notion with eagerness; it fascinated him for the remainder of his life; it bound him in the closest ties of friendship and confidence with Abul Fazl. CHAPTER IV. Akber, the Lord of the period.

The religious life of Akber had undergone a vast change. He was testing religion by morality and reason. His faith in Islam was fading away. Muhammad had married a girl of ten;[41] he had taken another man's wife; therefore he could not have been a prophet sent by God. Akber disbelieved the story of his night-journey to heaven. Meantime Akber was eagerly learning the mysteries of other religions. He entertained Bráhmans, Súfís, Parsís, and Christian Fathers. He believed in the transmigrations of the soul, in the supreme spirit, in the ecstatic re-union of the soul with God, in the deity of Fire and the Sun. He leaned towards Christianity; he rejected the Trinity and Incarnation. Rejection of Islam.

The gravitations of Akber towards Christianity are invested with singular interest. He had been impressed with what he heard of the Portuguese in India; their large ships, impregnable forts, and big Gravitations towards Christianity.

[41] The marriage of Muhammad with Ayesha, the young daughter of Abu Bakr, is a well-known event of his life. So also was his marriage with Zeinab, the divorced wife of his adopted son Zeid.

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guns. He sent a letter to the Portuguese viceroy at Goa inviting Christian Fathers to come to his court at Fathpúr Sikri and instruct him in the sacred books. The religious world at Goa was thrown into a ferment at the prospect of converting the Great Moghul. Every priest in Goa prayed that he might be sent on the mission. Three Fathers were despatched to Fathpúr, which was more than twelve hundred miles away.[42] Akber awaited their arrival with the utmost impatience. He received them with every mark of favour. They delivered their presents, consisting of a Polyglot Bible in four languages, and images of Jesus and the Virgin Mary. To their unspeakable delight the Great Moghul placed the Bible on his head and kissed the images. So eager was he for instruction that he spent the whole night in conversation with the Fathers. He provided them with lodgings in the precincts of his palace; he permitted them to set up a chapel and altar.

Controversies between the Mullahs and the Fathers: effect on Akber.

Akber had ceased to be a Mussulman; he still maintained appearances. He set apart Saturday evenings for controversies between the Fathers and the Mullahs. In the end the Fathers convinced Akber of the superiority of Christianity. They contrasted the sensualities of Muhammad with the pure morality of the gospel; the wars of Muhammad and the Khalifs with the preachings and sufferings of the Apostles. The Mussulman historian curses

[42] The mission consisted of Father Aquaviva, Monserrato, and Enriques. Aquaviva was the superior; he was a man of great learning, tact, and zeal. Enriques however played an important part: he was a Persian by birth, and acted as interpreter. Nothing is known of the details of their long and laborious journey. Father Catrou furnishes some details which supplement the information supplied by Mr Blockmann.

the Fathers; he states that Akber became a Christian.[43] The Fathers, however, could never induce Akber to be baptized. He gave them his favourite son Murád, a boy of thirteen, to be educated in Christianity and the European sciences.[44] He directed Abul Fazl to prepare a translation of the gospel. He entered the chapel of the Fathers, and prostrated himself before the image of the Saviour. He permitted the Fathers to preach Christianity in any part of his empire; to perform their rites in public, in opposition to Mussulman law. A Portuguese was buried at Fathpúr with all the pomp of the Roman Catholic ritual; the cross was carried through the streets for the first time. But Akber would not become a Christian; he waited, he said, for the Divine illumination.[45] CHAPTER IV.

Other men beside Akber were moved by Christianity. It awakened new ideas and sentiments. Effect of Christianity.

[43] See Badauni's history. Translations will be found in Elliot's History, vol. v. Also in Blockmann's English edition of the Aín-i-Akbari. Badauni was employed by Abul Fazl on the translation of the Maha Bhárata and Ramáyana; like a true Mussulman he expresses his utter disgust at the task.

[44] Akber showed his attachment to Christianity in a peculiar way. He married a Christian wife, who is known as Miriam or Mary. The palace of Miriam is still shown at Fathpúr Sikri. It is the only one with a bath-room attached. The chief feature in the ornamentation and architecture is something like a Greek cross. Akber is said to have remarked to the Jesuit Fathers that he had more crosses in one of his palaces than they had in all their churches.—*Communicated by the Rev. John Robson.*

It will be seen hereafter, that Jehangír tried to get Christian wives. Shah Jehan took Portuguese women into his harem after the capture of Hugli.

[45] A story is told by Father Catrou, that Abul Fazl became a Christian, and brought forward political reasons why Akber should do the same. He represented that the Hindús would never accept Islam, because it was the religion of the conquerors; that out of their deep veneration for Akber they would readily follow his example and become Christians. Palace influences, however, were too strong for Akber. His mother, who lived to a very advanced age, was a staunch believer in the prophet. His wives were all opposed to Christianity, as it would have forced him to put them all away save one. The Mullahs of the court were equally strong in denouncing Christianity.—Catrou's History of the Moghul Dynasty.

CHAPTER IV. It strongly influenced the religious thought of Abul Fazl and his elder brother Abul Faiz. These two men were representatives of the time. Both were Súfís. Both affected that mystic longing after union with God, which harmonizes with every religion. But there was a marked difference between them; they represent opposite schools. Abul Fazl was the statesman feeling his way to power. Abul Faiz was the prophet bard yearning after something higher and better.

Creed of Abul Fazl.

The creed of Abul Fazl is set forth in the following lines:—

"O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee!
In every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!
Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee!
Each religion says,—'Thou art without equal.'
If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer;
If it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque;
It is Thou whom I search from temple to temple." [46]

Such language is more political than religious. It expresses a grave truth which cannot be ignored, especially by the rulers of India. It is not the outpourings of a fervent man; it is not the stuff that makes martyrs and crusaders. It is the outcome of the old Moghul policy of toleration, refined by the genius of Abul Fazl.

Aspirations of Abul Faiz.

The religion of Abul Faiz was of a different character. The following lines embody some of his aspirations:—

"Come let us turn to a pulpit of light;
Let us lay the foundation of a new Kaaba with stones from Mount Sinai.
The wall of the Kaaba is broken;

[46] The translation of Abul Fazl's verses is by Mr Blockmann. See his Biography of Abul Fazl in the Introduction to the Aín-i-Akbari.

The basis of the Kiblah is gone;
Let us build a fortress without fault on a new foundation." [47]

Akber leaves Fathpúr Sikri: persecutes the Mussulmans.

Hitherto Akber had made Agra his capital, but established his court at Fathpúr Sikri. The two places were twelve miles apart; the intervening space was covered by a bazar. Fathpúr had long been Akber's favourite dwelling-place. His eldest son Selim had been born there; so had another of his sons. He left his wives and family there when he set out on an expedition. But Fathpúr was unhealthy; a change was also necessary on other grounds. His growing antagonism to Islam was creating disaffection. Numbers of Shaikhs and Fakírs were banished; some were sent to Scinde and Kandahar and exchanged for horses.[48] The Afghans in Kábul were growing dangerous. Akber had given the kingdom of Kábul to his brother Muhammad Hakim Mirza; but the Mirza often rebelled

[47] Here again I am indebted to Mr Blockmann. See Ain-i-Akbari, page 557. That Abul Fazl was deeply impressed with Christianity is evident from his own history of the reign of Akber, known as the Akber Nameh. He there says that Father Aquaviva was unrivalled among Christian doctors for intelligence and wisdom: "Several carping bigots attacked him, but their statements were torn to pieces, and they were nearly put to shame. They attacked the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. The Father replied to their arguments, and then offered to walk into a furnace with the Gospel in his hand, if the Mullahs would do the same with the Koran. The Mullahs shrank back from the proposal and answered only with angry words." (Elliot's History of India, vol. vi.) The story has been told in a variety of ways; sometimes the offer is said to have come from a Mullah. Possibly Abul Fazl's version is the correct one. Subsequently the Fathers were warned by their superiors not to attempt any such rash experiments, which might be suggested by the devil in order to bring Christianity to shame.

[48] This statement is peculiar in itself; it is also out of keeping with the popular idea of Akber. The Mussulman historian Badauni charges Akber with sending the refractory divines to Kandahar and exchanging them for horses. (See Badauni, extracted and translated by Blockmann in Ain-i-Akbari, page 191.) Possibly this does not mean actual slavery. Possibly the holy men were simply deported to the north-west frontier, where their co-religionists ransomed them with horses. It will, however, be seen hereafter that Akber persecuted Mussulmans and destroyed mosques, especially after his removal to Lahore.

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and raided the Punjab. Akber tried to cope with the evil by pitting the Rajpoots against the Afghans. In 1578 he appointed his brother-in-law Raja Bhagwan Dás to be governor of the Punjab; he appointed Raja Mán Singh, a son of Bhagwan Dás, to the command of the districts on the Indus. In 1582 the Mirza again broke out in rebellion.

Akber removes to Lahore.

Under these circumstances Akber resolved on moving from Fathpúr to Lahore. The Fathers marvelled at the greatness of his army. Five thousand elephants were on the march. Their heads were shielded with iron plates; their trunks were armed with swords; their tusks were bound with daggers. Each elephant carried four archers or four gunners. The elephants marched in the rear of the army.

Rajpoot government in Kábul and Bengal.

In Kábul Akber reduced his brother to submission and then pardoned him. In 1584 the Mirza died. Akber appointed Raja Mán Singh to be governor of Kábul. The history is obscure; could the facts be ascertained they would reveal political workings of the utmost importance. The disaffection of Kábul was doubtless due to the religious innovations of Akber. The appointment of a Rajpoot governor over an Afghan population was the outcome of Akber's policy. It was a daring experiment in Asiatic politics. It may be inferred that the Rajpoots overawed the Afghans. The people of Kábul made complaints to Akber against Mán Singh. Akber sent Mán Singh to be governor of Bihár and Bengal; there also the Afghan element prevailed; there again the Rajpoot is said to have ruled prudently and justly.[49] Mán Singh

[49] There is absolutely no evidence as to Mán Singh's administration. Mr Blockmann has collected some interesting notices respecting Mán Singh. They

conquered and annexed Orissa. He continued for many years in the government of Bihár and Bengal. Akber set aside his own rules in order to reward him handsomely. He raised Mán Singh to the command of Seven thousand horse; such high rank had been hitherto reserved for the sons of the Padishah.[50]

Akber founds a new religion.

At Lahore the religion of Akber underwent further change. Muhammad had framed a religion out of Judaism, Christianity, and his own ideas. Akber tried to frame a religion in like manner. He thought to combine circumcision and baptism with the worship of the supreme spirit; to blend polygamy and the worship of Jesus with the belief in the transmigrations of the soul. Accordingly he appeared at Lahore as the enemy of Islam, the destroyer of mosques, the head of a new religion.[51] He never adopted baptism. He became a worshipper of the Sun; he expected to be worshipped himself as a type or embodiment of deity, a ray of the sun's rays. Before entering into details it may be as well to picture him as he is described by old European travellers.[52]

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imply that it was just and prudent. Such general terms are of no value in dealing with Moghul history at this period. They merely imply that the writer was a partisan of the Rajpoots, and wrote to please Akber.

[50] Mr Blockmann remarks that by this act Akber placed a Hindú above every Mussulman officer. Shortly afterwards, however, two Mussulman officers were raised to the same rank. See Mr Blockmann's history of the several Amírs and Mansubdars of Akber in his edition of the Aín-i-Akbari.

[51] See Father Catrou's history. His statements are corroborated by the European authorities which are summarized by Purchas.

[52] Akber was the first sovereign of any note in India since the days of Porus, who was known to Europeans. The Portuguese had been acquainted with the little kings of Malabar; they knew something, but very little, of the Rais of Vijayanagar. But Akber was the first great Indian potentate who was interviewed by Europeans. They were curious as regards every trait and detail, for everything was new and strange. Their several accounts have been summed up by the

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Old English accounts of Akber.

"The yearly revenue of Akber was many millions; yet other princes have exceeded him in port and magnificence; in apparel, diet, and majesty of court service. He could neither write nor read; but he was endowed with deep judgment, piercing wit, wise forecast, and marvellous memory.

Administration of justice.

"He was very diligent in the execution of justice. In the city where he dwelt he heard all causes himself. No malefactor was punished without his knowledge. Thieves and pirates were deprived of a hand. Murderers, adulterers, and highwaymen were put to death by hanging or impalement; but no execution took place until the sentence had been pronounced by Akber three times.

Daily appearance in public.

"He held a public audience every day. For this purpose he had two wide halls, or rather open courts, with a royal throne set up in each.[53] He did not, however, sit upon the throne, but stood by it. On these occasions he was attended by eight counsellors as well as notaries. He often received exceedingly great presents at these audiences. One prince, who offered to become his vassal, presented him with horses, swords, and gold and jewels of enormous values. Almost every day he received such presents, but especially at the feast of the Nauroz.

History and engineering.

"At other times Akber sat upon carpets after the Turkish manner. On these occasions twelve learned

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old English geographer, Samuel Purchas; the description in the text, with some slight modifications, is given in his very words.

[53] These two courts, or halls, will be often brought to notice in dealing with the history of Akber's successors. There was a public audience every afternoon in the public hall of assembly known as the Durbar. There was a private audience every evening to such guests as were specially invited in a kind of drawing-room known as the Ghusal-khana, literally "the bath-room."

men were always with him, who either read or disputed in his presence, or else related histories. He was a curious discourser with all sects. He was both affable and majestic, merciful and severe. He was more gracious to the commonalty than he was to his own grandees. He was skilful in various mechanical arts, such as making guns and casting ordnance. He had workshops within the precincts of the palace.

Amusements.

"He took great delight in a variety of games; in fights between buffaloes, cocks, harts, rams, and elephants; in the performances of wrestlers, fencers, dancers, and actors of comedies; in the dances of trained elephants and camels. He knew the name of every one of his elephants. He gave names to his horses, his wild beasts, his harts, and his pigeons, and knew every one by its name. He often despatched serious business in the midst of these spectacles. He was very fond of hunting. He had no hunting dogs. He kept trained panthers to take other wild beasts. He also kept tame antelopes, with nets fastened to their horns, to entangle wild ones. In his hunting expeditions he surrounded a whole wood with hunters. He then sent beaters into the jungle to drive out the game. If any hunters suffered the beasts to escape they were punished.

Abstemiousness.

"Akber was sparing in his diet. He rarely partook of flesh more than four times in the year. He lived on rice, milk, and sweetmeats. He only slept three hours in the night time.[54]

Hindús preferred to Mussulmans.

"He hated the Mussulman religion. He over-

[54] Akber spent the greater part of the night in his private assemblies. Probably he slept some hours in the day-time, according to Moghul custom.

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threw mosques and converted them into stables.[55] He trusted and employed the Hindús more than the Mussulmans. Many of the Mussulmans rebelled against him; they stirred up his brother, the governor of Kábul, to take arms against him; but Akber defeated the rebels and restored order.

Akber's religion: works miracles.

"It is uncertain what really was the religion of Akber. Some said that he was a Mussulman; others that he was a Hindú; others that he was a Christian. Some said that he belonged to a fourth sect, which was not connected with either of the three others. He acknowledged one God, who was best content with a variety of sects and worshippings. Early in the morning, and again at noon, evening, and midnight, he worshipped the Sun. He belonged to a new sect, of which the followers regarded him as their prophet. They followed him out of interest and worldly gain. He professed to work miracles; to cure diseases by the water of his feet. Many women made vows to him, either to obtain children, or to recover the health of their children; if they obtained the object of their desires they brought to him whatever they had vowed, and he received it willingly. Every morning he worshipped the Sun; he liked to be worshipped himself by the people. He showed himself to the multitude at a window;[56] they knelt down, and performed the same worship to him as they did to their own idols. It was thought that he entertained learned men of different sects and re-

[55] Abul Fazl is discreetly silent as regards Akber's persecution of the Mussulmans. In one place he significantly remarks that "those who are acquainted with the religious knowledge and piety of His Majesty, will not attach any importance to some of his customs." Ain-i-Akb ri, page 165.

[56] This was the famous window for inspection, known as the Jharokha window.

ligions in order that he might take something from each for the constitution of a new one."[57] CHAPTER IV.

The pretensions of Akber to be worshipped as a deity reveal the workings of his mind. The Moghul idea of one sovereign and one God had seethed in his brain. He had become impatient of Islam; he yearned to bring all men under one dominion, religious as well as political. He had been intoxicated by the boundless flattery of Abul Fazl. One God and one sovereign.

The stages in the development of Akber are strongly marked. The idea that he was the twelfth Imám, the Lord of the period, may possibly have died a natural death. It could only find expression within the pale of Islam; it would not work upon the Hindú; it was too fascinating to be rejected; it was blended with more spiritual and metaphysical forms of belief. The worship of Fire and the Sun as the manifestations of deity, the types of the supreme spirit, was alike Persian and Brahmanical. The worship of royalty as light emanating from God, a ray of the Sun that illuminated the universe, was due to the genius of Abul Fazl. Probably it originated in ancient times, when imperial power maintained a priesthood and was supported by a priesthood.[58] Others, however, besides Abul Fazl had the audacity to revive a similar idea in the sixteenth century; hence arose the belief in the divine rights of kings which about the same time began to prevail in England.[59] Stages in Akber's religious development.

[57] Purchas's Pilgrimage, reprinted at Calcutta, 1864.

[58] It is a suggestive fact that the Rajas of Ayodhyá, the ancestors of the present Rajas of Udaipur, are fabled to have descended from the Sun. The remote ancestor of Chenghiz Khan was also begotten by the Sun on a Virgin.

[59] The fact that Akber suffered himself to be worshipped as deity is undeniable.

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The "Divine Faith."

Besides this popular form of worship Akber founded a new religion, known as the "Divine Faith." The members were the elect, who worshipped him as the visible type of deity. The novice placed his turban at the foot of the Padishah. In return he received a symbol bearing the name of God, and the motto "Alláhu Akber."[60] Meantime all the Mussulman prayers and feasts were abolished at court. A new worship was introduced, which was partly Parsí and partly Hindú. A new era, and new festivals, were established, all of which were Parsí. The members gave feasts on their birthdays, and bestowed alms. They refrained as far as possible from flesh meat. They abstained from intercourse with women who were pregnant, old, or barren, and with girls who were under age. Meantime the Mussulman grandees at court made but little resistance. They hated Abul Fazl. They were jealous of the promotion of Hindús; they were little troubled by the religious novelties. They had learned to sneer at the Ulamá; probably in their hearts they were ready to sneer at the Padishah.

Absence of fanaticism.

Akber was no fanatic. He was not carried away by religious craze. His religion was the outcome of his policy; it was political rather than superstitious; it began with him, and it ended with him. Proba-

Every morning Akber made his prostrations to the Sun, whilst a crowd of wretches made their prayers and vows to him as their deity. The Portuguese saw the people worship Akber. Abul Fazl himself declares, that the people's prayers were answered, that their diseases were healed. He adds, with a sly hit at Christianity and Buddhism, that many sincere inquirers received an awakening from the light of his wisdom, or the holiness of his breath, which other spiritual doctors could not produce by fasting and prayers for forty days. See Aín-i-Akbari, translated by Blockmann.

[60] There is a double meaning in these words. They signify "God is great." They also signify "Akber is God."

bly the lack of fanaticism caused its failure. Abul Fazl speaks of the numbers who joined it; the list which he has preserved only contains the names of eighteen courtiers, including himself, his father, and his brother. Only one Hindú is on the list, namely, Bir Bar, the Brahman.[61]

Morals of Akber.

Akber tried hard to improve the morals of his subjects, Hindús as well as Mussulmans. He placed restrictions upon prostitution; he severely punished seducers. He permitted the use of wine; he punished intoxication. He prohibited the slaughter of cows. He forbade the marriage of boys before they were sixteen, and of girls before they were fourteen. He permitted the marriage of Hindú widows. He tried to stop Satí amongst the Hindús, and polygamy amongst the Mussulmans.[62]

Practical mind

There was much practical simplicity in Akber's character. It showed itself in a variety of ways. It was not peculiar to Akber; it was an instinct which shows itself in Moghuls generally. His Amírs cheated him by bringing borrowed horses to muster; he stopped them by branding every horse with the name of the Amír to which it belonged as well as with the imperial mark. He appointed writers to record everything he said or did. He sent

[61] Bir Bar had something to do with Akber's religious culture. Badauni, the Mussulman historian, thus refers to him: "Bir Bar impressed upon the Pádishah that the Sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain in the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary; and people in praying should face towards the place where he rises, instead of turning to the quarter where he sits. For similar reasons, said Bir Bar, should men pay regard to fire and water, stones, trees, and other forms of existence, even to cows and their ordure, to the mark on the forehead, and the Brahmanical thread." Blockmann's translation in the Aín-i-Akbari.

[62] See the extracts from Badauni's history, inserted in Mr Blockmann's edition of the Aín-i-Akbari. It is impossible to ascertain how far Akber enforced obedience to his laws.

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writers into every city and province to report to him everything that was going on.[63] He hung up a bell at the palace; any man who had a grievance might ring the bell and obtain a hearing.[64]

Experiment for discovering the primitive language.

Akber was very inquisitive. He sent an expedition to discover the sources of the Ganges. He made a strange experiment to discover what language was first spoken by mankind. This experiment is typical of the man. The Mussulmans declared that the first language was Arabic; the Jews said it was Hebrew; the Bráhmans said it was Sanskrit. Akber ordered twelve infants to be brought up by dumb nurses; not a word was to be spoken in their presence until they were twelve years of age. When the time arrived the children were brought before Akber. Proficients in the learned tongues were present to catch the first words, to decide upon the language to which it belonged. The children could not say a word; they spoke only by signs. The experiment was an utter failure.[65]

Dark side of Akber: his poisoner.

The character of Akber had its dark side. He was sometimes harsh and cruel. His persecution of Mussulmans was unpardonable. He had another way of getting rid of his enemies which is revolting to civilization. He kept a poisoner in his pay.

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[63] These writers were of little use in checking injustice or oppression. Bernier says that they were generally in disgraceful collusion with the viceroy or governor.

[64] Aín-i-Akbari. See also Father Catrou.

[65] Father Catrou relates this incident on the authority of the Moghul chronicle. According to Herodotus the same experiment was made by one of the Egyptian Pharaohs. There is one curious incident in Akber's experiment. The children were subsequently taught to speak, but it was with the greatest possible difficulty.

Badauni relates the incident in a tone of contempt. He says that a number of sucklings were brought up by dumb nurses until they were four years of age. When the time was up not one could speak a word. Badauni's story is probably the true one. Father Catrou's story is just the exaggeration of the incident which would be recorded in the Moghul chronicles.

He carried a box with three compartments; one for betel; another for digestive pills; a third for poisoned pills. No one dared to refuse to eat what was offered him by the Padishah; the offer was esteemed an honour. How many were poisoned by Akber is unknown. The practice was in full force during the reigns of his successors.

Prostration.

Akber required his Amírs to prostrate themselves before him. This rule gave great offence to Mussulmans; prostration is worship; no strict Mussulman will perform worship except when offering his prayers to God. Abul Fazl says that Akber ordered it to be discontinued. The point is doubtful. It was certainly performed by members of the "Divine Faith." It was also performed during the reign of his son and successor.[66]

Absolute despotism.

The Moghul government was pure despotism. Every governor and viceroy was supreme within his province; the Padishah was supreme throughout his empire. There was nothing to check provincial rulers but fear of the Padishah; there was nothing to check the Padishah but fear of rebellion. All previous Mussulman sovereigns had been checked by the Ulamá and the authority of the Koran. Akber had broken up the Ulamá and set aside the Koran; he governed the empire according to his will; his will was law. The old Moghul Khans had held Diets; no trace of a Diet is to be found in

[66] Three forms of salutation were known to the Moghuls:—the Kornish, or offering of the head; the Taslim, or offering of the whole body; the Sijdah, or prostration. The Kornish consisted in placing the palm of the right hand upon the forehead, and bending the head downwards. The Taslim consisted in stooping down and placing the back of the right hand upon the ground; then raising it gently and standing erect; finally placing the palm of the hand on the crown of the head. The Sijdah consisted in prostration, and touching the ground with the forehead. See Aín-i-Akbari, translated by Blockmann. Book i. Aín 74.

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the history of Moghul India prior to the reign of Aurungzeb. There may have been a semblance of a Diet on the accession of a new Padishah; all the Amírs, Rajas, and princes of the empire paid their homage, presented gifts, and received titles and honours. But there was no council or parliament of any sort or kind. The Padishah was one and supreme.

Ministers.

Asiatic ministers play an important part in the administration; they rarely play an important part in the history. They exercised great influence; it was chiefly in matters personal or of passing interest. They might advance a friend or ruin an enemy. Otherwise they were mere slaves in the hands of their master; if they failed to please him they ceased to be ministers. Loss of favour was not a matter of dismissal; it was degradation and ruin; there was always danger of confiscation and death.

Cabinet.

Sometimes the ministers seemed to form a cabinet. It comprised the prime minister, the finance minister, the paymaster-general. The Padishah appointed others at will. Mention is sometimes made of a lord steward of the household, a grand master of the eunuchs, a lord falconer, and other nondescript posts. Sometimes the ministers were realities like Bairam Khan and Abul Fazl; sometimes they were mere puppets who had been honoured with the rank of ministers.

Working of the administration.

The working of the administration during the reign of Akber is far from clear. It is hidden behind a veil of fulsome flattery. It was not until the reigns of his successors that European observers saw the working of Moghul rule with

their own eyes. Three institutions were in full force throughout the reign. They were known as the Jharokha, the Durbar, and the Ghusal-khana. They serve to show the daily life of Akber and his court; fuller details will appear in the after history. CHAPTER IV. Moghul institutions.

The Jharokha was a window at the back of the palace; or rather at the back of the Mahal or harem. It overlooked a plain below. At this window Akber appeared every morning and worshipped the sun; the multitude thronged the plain below to worship Akber. Later in the morning Akber appeared again at the window. He was entertained with the combats of animals in the plain below. Sometimes he inspected troops, horses, elephants, camels, and animals of all descriptions from this window. Jharokha.

The Durbar was in the front quarter of the palace facing the city. It was a hall of public audience within a large court. Every day Akber sat upon his throne at the back of the Durbar hall. He gave audience to all comers. He disposed of petitions; he administered justice; he received Rajas, Amírs, and ambassadors; he issued orders to his ministers. All the grandees at court were bound to attend him at the Jharokha and Dūrbar. Durbar.

The Ghusal-khana was a private assembly. It was held in the evening in a pavilion behind the Durbar court. None were admitted excepting the ministers and such grandees as were invited to attend. Sometimes the gathering resembled a privy council; at other times it was an assembly of grandees and learned men. Ghusal-khana.

Much stress has been laid upon the employment of Hindús by Akber. The fact is he had no alternative. He had been compelled to call in the Raj- Employment of Hindus.

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poot element to overawe the Afghans; in like manner he found it necessary to employ Hindús to check the maladministration of his Amirs. He could not trust his Amírs. Those who were lax and indifferent in religious matters were treacherous, grasping, and untrustworthy. Those who were strict Mussulmans were ever ready to rebel against him. He engaged a Hindú named Todar Mal to make a revenue settlement; to fix the yearly payments to be made by the holders of land. This settlement has been greatly lauded; it is famous to this day; it was the one thing to which landholders and cultivators could appeal against the rapacity of collectors. The character of Todar Mal is a mystery. He was praised to the skies by Abul Fazl; he was denounced as bigoted and superstitious by other contemporaries.[67]

Khálisa lands and Jaghír lands.

All the lands in the empire were the property of the Padishah.[68] Some he kept as his own domain; they were known as Khálisa, or crown lands; they paid a yearly rent to the crown. The remaining lands were parcelled out as Jaghírs. These Jaghírs were grants given in lieu of salary; they were sometimes given for the maintenance of a quota or an army. Jaghírs were given to viceroys, governors, ministers, and grandees; they were also

[67] See Blockmann's Aín-i-Akbari; No. 39 in Abul Fazl's list of Amírs and Mansubdars. History teaches that unless native administration is kept under European supervision it is accompanied by grave evils. Nothing can have been more productive of tyranny and oppression than the way in which districts and villages in the Dekhan and Peninsula were farmed out to Bráhmans during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. It mattered not whether the head of the state was a Mussulman Sultan or a Hindú Raja; the oppression was the same.

[68] This fact is the foundation of the Moghul system of administration. An exception proves the rule. Bernier states that sometimes the grandees were permitted to hold small pieces of land as sites for houses and gardens. Such holdings were liable to be confiscated by the Padishah like other property.

given to queens and princesses in the imperial harem. Every Jaghír paid a fixed yearly rent to the Padishah; all that could be collected above this amount belonged to the Jaghírdar, or holder of the Jaghír.

Revenue administration.

Badauni describes the working of the administration under Todar Mal. There was no lack of revenue work. All lands were measured, whether in town or country, dry or irrigated, cultivated or uncultivated. Every piece of land, calculated to yield a yearly income of twenty-five thousand rupees, was placed under the charge of an officer known as a Krori.[69] The object was to bring uncultivated lands into cultivation within three years. Security was taken from each Krori that such would be done. Regulations were made; of course they were disregarded. The rapacity of the Kroris laid the country waste; they sold the wives and children of the ryots; they threw everything into confusion. Many of the Kroris were brought to account by Raja Todar Mal; many good men were beaten to death or tortured to death with the rack and pincers.[70] Many died from long confinement in the prisons of the revenue officers; there was no need of executioners or swordsmen; no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes. They resembled the de-

[69] This officer was called a Krori because twenty-five thousand rupees are equal to a krore, or million of dams. The term rupee is used in the text as being a more familiar word to European readers. In English money twenty-five thousand rupees would be equivalent to two thousand five hundred pounds. The dam was a copper coin corresponding to the modern pice. Forty dams went to a rupee. The Moghuls liked to talk big. They would not say twenty-five thousand rupees; they preferred saying a krore of dams.—Aín-i-Akbari, Aín 2. The comparison between the inflated exaggerations of Abul Fuzl and the evident truthfulness of Badauni is very amusing.

[70] By "good men" Badauni probably meant good Mussulmans. It is evident to modern readers that "the good men" were grinding oppressors.

CHAPTER IV. vout Hindús of Kamrup; they gave themselves up to a year of enjoyment; they then threw themselves under the wheels of their idol car.[71]

Army administration.

Badauni furnishes a graphic picture of the maladministration of the Moghul army in the reign of Akber. The Amírs were wicked and rebellious; they spent large sums on stores and work-shops; they amassed wealth; they had no leisure to look after the troops; they took no interest in the people. Regulations were introduced for branding horses and holding frequent musters; they were of no avail. The Amírs borrowed horses for the musters; the horses were branded and returned to their owners; they were never seen again. The Amírs mounted slaves and the dregs of people to serve as soldiers at the musters. Akber was aware of this cheating and chicanery; he deemed it politic to wink at it. Badauni was a staunch Mussulman; he hated the innovations of Akber; he told the plain truth. All that he has stated is more than confirmed by European observers in the reigns of Jehangír and Shah Jehan.[72]

Lahore.

Akber dwelt many years at Lahore. There he seems to have reached the height of human felicity. A proverb became current, "As happy as Akber." He established his authority in Kábul and Bengal. He added Kashmír to his dominions. His empire was as large as that of Asoka. He further contemplated the conquest of the Dekhan.[73]

[71] See Badauni's History in Elliot's History of India, vol. v.

[72] Compare translated extract from Badauni in Blockmann's Aín-i-Akbari, page 242. Also Bernier's description of the Moghul administration in chapter vi. of the present volume.

[73] In 1585 there was a disastrous campaign against the Yusufzais, in which eight thousand of Akber's soldiers were killed, including Bir Bar the Bráhman. See Badauni, quoted by Mr Blockmann.

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The Dekhan table land formed a square, with a kingdom lying in each of the four angles. On the north were Ahmadnagar and Berar; on the south were Bíjápur and Golkonda. Akber had conquered Guzerat and Malwa, to the northward of the Nerbudda river. He had also conquered Khandesh. The kingdom of Khandesh occupied an important position. It lay immediately to the south of the Nerbudda river. Geographically it belongs to the Dekhan; politically it was a half-way house between Hindustan and the four kingdoms of the Dekhan. It was, in fact, the key to the Dekhan. It was governed by its own ruler, Bahadur Khan; he owed allegiance to the Padishah; he was far from loyal to his suzerain.

The Dekhan.

Akber had always kept his eye on the march of events in the Dekhan. In the ninth year of his reign the four Sultans had overthrown the Hindú kingdom of Vijayanagar. Subsequently they had been engaged in wars or intrigues amongst themselves. In 1572 the Sultan of Ahmadnagar had conquered and annexed Berár; he thus set up a strong barrier against the advance of the Moghuls into the south. Akber was angered by this annexation, but he could not interfere.

Political state of the Dekhan.

Subsequently Ahmadnagar drifted into anarchy. Its annals are a mere record of drunkenness, treachery, slaughter, and indescribable crimes; they will serve as a type of the current of affairs in the other Mussulman kingdoms of the Dekhan. In 1586 a Sultan of Ahmadnagar was murdered by his son; he was shut up in a hot bath and suffocated to death. The parricide ascended the throne by the aid of his minister. In one day

Anarchy in Ahmadnagar

CHAPTER IV. the parricide slaughtered fifteen of his nearest male kinsmen. He was nearly always drunk. His chief amusement was to ride through Ahmadnagar with drunken companions, and hunt down all who came in his way. He grew jealous of his minister. In his drunken fits he would threaten to behead the minister, or to have him trampled to death by elephants. The minister knew what was going on; he suddenly arrested the Sultan; he placed a boy of twelve, named Ismail, upon the throne of Ahmadnagar.[74]

Dekhanis and Foreigners: Sunnís and Shíahs.

At this crisis Ahmadnagar was distracted by the quarrels between the Dekhanis and Foreigners. The Dekhanis, including the Abyssinians, were led by a fanatic of the Mahdi sect, an expectant of the millennium.[75] They demanded the restoration of the imprisoned Sultan. The minister thought to quell the riot by cutting off the head of the Sultan and exposing it on a bastion of the palace. The sight only drove the rioters to madness. They set the palace on fire. They slaughtered every Foreigner they could find. They plundered the houses of the Shíahs. "Virgins who concealed their faces from the sun and moon were dragged by the hair into the assemblies of the drunken." The minister was taken prisoner and paraded through the city on an ass. He was then cut into pieces, which were fixed on different buildings within the city.

Sultan of Ahmadnagar.

At last things quieted down. The Dekhanis accepted Ismail as their Sultan. He was a nephew of the parricide, and consequently a prince of the blood-

[74] Ferishta's History of Ahmadnagar.

[75] The Dekhanis were Sunnís. The Sunnís were as inclined as the Shíahs to believe in the advent of Mahdi, and approved of the millennium.

royal. But Ismail had a father, named Burhan, who was a refugee at the court of Akber. Akber offered to place Burhan on the throne of Ahmadnagar. Burhan replied that if the Moghuls helped him, the people of Ahmadnagar would resist him. Burhan went alone to the Dekhan; he was joined by many of the nobles. In the end the Mahdi fanatic was killed; Ismail was imprisoned; the father succeeded to the throne of his son.

Akber's policy towards the Dekhan.

During the reign of Burhan, Akber sent ambassadors to the Sultans of the Dekhan to invite them to accept him as their suzerain. In return he would uphold them on their thrones; he would prevent all internecine wars. One and all refused to pay allegiance to the Moghul. Akber was wroth at the refusal. He sent his son Murád to command in Guzerat; he ordered Murád to seize the first opportunity for interfering in the affairs of Ahmadnagar.

Moghul conquest.

The moment soon arrived. Burhan died in 1594. A war ensued between rival claimants for the throne. The minister was at variance with the queen dowager. The minister invited Murád to interfere. Murád advanced to Ahmadnagar. Meantime the minister and queen came to terms; they united to resist the Moghuls. The queen dowager, known as Chánd Bíbí, arrayed herself in armour; she veiled her face, and led the troops in person. The Moghuls were driven back. At last a compromise was effected. Berár was ceded to the Padishah; Murád retired from Ahmadnagar.[76]

[76] Chánd Bíbí was a heroine of Mussulman story. She was the daughter of a Sultan of Ahmadnagar. In 1564 she had been given in marriage to Ali Adil Shah of Bijápur, in order to cement the league against the Rai of Vijayanagar. She was left a widow at an early age, and passed through strange experiences as queen regent of Bijápur. On one occasion she was imprisoned in a fortress. In

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Portent at Lahore.

About this time a strange event took place at Lahore. On Easter Sunday, 1597, the Padishah was celebrating the Nau-roz, or feast of the new year, in honour of the Sun. Tented pavilions were set up in a large plain. An image of the Sun, fashioned of gold and jewels, was placed upon a throne. Suddenly a thunderbolt fell from the skies. The throne was overturned. The royal pavilion was set on fire; the flames spread throughout the camp; the whole was burnt to the ground. The fire reached the city and burnt down the palace. Nearly everything was consumed. The imperial treasures were melted down, and molten gold and silver ran through the streets of Lahore.

Religious doubts of Akber.

This portentous disaster made a deep impression on Akber. He went away to Kashmír; he took one of the Christian Fathers with him. He began to question the propriety of his new religion; he could not bring himself to retract; certainly not to become an open Christian. When the summer was over he returned to Lahore.[77]

1584 her niece was given in marriage to her brother, who had become Sultan of Ahmadnagar. Chánd Bibi accompanied her niece to Ahmadnagar, and henceforth took up her abode there. In 1586 her brother, the husband of her niece, was suffocated by his son in a hot bath-room, as related in the text. At the time she headed the troops against the Moghuls she must have been nearly fifty years of age. Father Catrou tells a romantic story of her being taken into the harem of Akber; he adds that the fact is not recorded in the Moghul chronicles. It will be seen afterwards that she was murdered by her own soldiers. Akber, as already seen, prohibited all intercourse with women of mature years.

[77] Kashmír must have seemed like a paradise to the Christian Father. Purchas drew up a description of Kashmír from the Portuguese authorities, which is so quaint and graphic as to be worthy of extract:—"Kashmír yields not to any Indian region in goodliness and wholesomeness. It is encompassed with high mountains, which for most part of the year are covered with snow. It is a delicate valley, diversified with pastures, fields, woods, gardens, parks, springs and rivers, even to admiration. It is cool and more temperate than the kingdom of Thibet, which adjoins it on the east. Three leagues from Kashmír is a deep

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In 1598 Akber left Lahore and set out for Agra. He was displeased with the conduct of the war in the Dekhan. His son Murád was a drunkard. The Commander-in-Chief, known as the Khan Khanán, who accompanied Murád, was intriguing and treacherous; he had probably been bribed by the Dekhanis.[78] Abul Fazl was still the trusted servant and friend; he had been raised to the rank of commander of Two thousand five hundred. Akber had already recalled the Khan Khanán. He now sent Abul Fazl into the Dekhan, to bring away Murád, or to send him away, as should seem most expedient.

Return to Agra: Dekhan affairs.

Abul Fazl departed on his mission. He arrived at Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh. He soon discovered the lukewarmness of Bahadur Khan the ruler. He insisted that Bahadur Khan should join him, and help the imperial cause. Bahadur Khan was disinclined to help Akber to conquer the Dekhan. He thought to back out by sending rich presents to Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl was too loyal to be bribed; he returned the presents and went alone towards Ahmadnagar.

Abul Fazl in the Dekhan.

Meanwhile Murád was retreating from Ahmadnagar. He encamped in Berár; he drank more deeply than ever; he died suddenly the very day that Abul Fazl came up. The death of Murád re-

Abul Fazl at Ahmadnagar.

lake, beset round with trees, with an island in the midst, on which Akber built a palace. The country had a store of rice and wheat; also vines, which they plant at the foot of the mulberry; the same tree seeming to bear two fruits. Had not the people been at contentions amongst themselves Akber could never have conquered so strong a kingdom. In times past the people were all Hindús; but three hundred years before Akber most of them became Mussulmans."

[78] This Khan Khanán played an important part during the reign of Jehangír. His name was Mirza Abdurrahim; he was the son of Bairam Khan, the guardian of Akber.

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moved one complication; but it led to the question of advance. The imperial officers urged a retreat. Abul Fazl refused to retreat. He had been bred in a cloister; he was approaching his fiftieth year; he had never before been in active service; but he had the spirit of a soldier; he refused to retreat from an enemy's country; he pushed manfully on for Ahmadnagar. His efforts were rewarded with success. The queen regent was assailed by other enemies, and yielded to her fate. She agreed that if Abul Fazl would punish her enemies, she would surrender the fortress of Ahmadnagar.

Akber invades the Dekhan.

Tidings had now reached Akber that his son Murád was dead. He resolved to go in person to the Dekhan. He left his eldest son Selim in charge of the government. He sent an advance force under his other son Danyál, associated with the Khan Khanán. The advance force reached Burhanpur. There the disloyalty of Bahadur Khan was manifest; he refused to pay his respects to Danyál.[79] Akber was encamped at Ujain when the news reached him. He ordered Abul Fazl to join him; he ordered Danyál to go on to Ahmadnagar; he then prepared for the subjugation of Bahadur Khan.

Military operations.

The story of the operations may be told in a few words. Danyál advanced to Ahmadnagar. Chánd Bíbí was slaughtered by her own soldiers. Ahmadnagar was occupied by the Moghuls. Meanwhile Bahadur Khan abandoned Burhanpur and took refuge in the strong fortress of Asírghur. Akber was joined by Abul Fazl and laid siege to Asírghur.

[79] This is a well-known game with the feudatory princes in India. When inclined to grow disaffected towards the paramount power they begin to show a want of respect. They excuse themselves under the plea of sickness.

The siege lasted six months. At last Bahadur Khan surrendered; his life was spared; henceforth he fades away from history. CHAPTER IV.

So far Akber had prospered; he had conquered the great highway into the Dekhan—Malwa, Khandesh, Berár, and Ahmadnagar. He raised Abul Fazl to the command of Four thousand. He resolved on conquering the Dekhan. He was about to strike when his arm was arrested. His eldest son Selim had broken out in revolt. He had gone to Allahabad and assumed the title of Padishah. Revolt of Selim.

Akber returned alone to Agra; he was falling on evil days. He effected a reconciliation with Selim; he saw that Selim was still rebellious at heart; that his best officers were inclining towards his undutiful son. In his perplexity he sent to the Dekhan for Abul Fazl. The trusted servant hastened to join his imperial master. But Selim had always hated Abul Fazl. He instigated a Rajpoot chief of Bundelkund to way-lay Abul Fazl. This chief was Bir Singh of Urchah. Bir Singh fell upon Abul Fazl near Nawar, killed him, and sent his head to Selim. Bir Singh fled from the wrath of the Padishah; he led the life of an outlaw in the jungle until he heard of the death of Akber. Murder of Abul Fazl.

Akber was deeply wounded by the murder of Abul Fazl. He thereby lost his chief support, his best and trusted friend. Henceforth he seemed to yield to circumstances rather than to struggle against the world. Other misfortunes befell him. His mother died. His youngest son Danyál killed himself with drink in the Dekhan. His own life was beginning to draw to a close. Evil days.

The last events in the reign of Akber are ob-

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Death of Akber, 1605: investiture of Selim.

scure. Outwardly he became reconciled to Selim. Outwardly he abandoned scepticism and heresy: he professed himself a Mussulman. At heart he was anxious that Selim should be set aside; that Khuzru, the eldest son of Selim, should succeed him on the throne. It is impossible to unravel the intrigues that filled the court at Agra. At last Akber was smitten with mortal disease. For some days Selim was refused admittance to his father's chamber. In the end there was a compromise. Selim swore to maintain the Mussulman religion. He also swore to pardon his son Khuzru, and all who had supported Khuzru. He was then brought into the presence of Akber. The old Padishah was past all speech. He made a sign with his hand that Selim should take the imperial diadem, and gird on the imperial sword. Selim obeyed. He prostrated himself upon the ground before the couch of his dying father; he touched the ground with his head. He then left the chamber. A few hours passed away, and Akber was dead. He died in October, 1605, aged sixty-three.[80]

Burial of Akber.

The burial of Akber was performed after a simple fashion. His grave was prepared in a garden at Secundra, about four miles from Agra.

[80] The disease of which Akber died is a mystery. It should be explained that Selim succeeded Akber on the throne under the name of Jehangir. There is a diffuse account of the sickness and death of Akber in the Autobiography of Jehangir; it is obscure and unsatisfactory; there is evidently something which the author of the Autobiography wishes to conceal. Father Catrou reveals the fact; Akber had taken one of the poisoned pills. This is confirmed by Tavernier. Whether the pill was taken by accident or given to Akber by design can never be positively known. The language of the Autobiography excites dark suspicions. Hakim Ali, the doctor of Akber, was accused of having grossly erred in his prescriptions. Jehangir refused to have him punished. (See Autobiography, page 71.) It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the pill was given to Akber by Hakim Ali at the instigation of Jehangir. That Jehangir was capable of such a crime will be proved by the history of his reign.

The body was placed upon a bier. Selim and his surviving sons carried it out of the fortress. The young princes, assisted by the officers of the imperial household, carried it to Secundra. Seven days were spent in mourning over the grave. Provisions and sweetmeats were distributed amongst the poor every morning and evening throughout the mourning. Twenty readers were appointed to recite the Koran by the grave every night without ceasing. Finally, the foundations were laid of that splendid mausoleum, which is known far and wide as the tomb of Akber.

State of the empire.

The death of Akber brings the first act of Moghul history to a close. The Moghul empire was a thing accomplished; for a century and a half it was held together by the prestige of its name. Meantime the British were beginning to appear in India. Throughout the previous century the Portuguese had held the monopoly of the Indian trade. Before the death of Akber they were in friendly alliance with the Great Moghul. But Dutchmen and Englishmen were already spying out the land. In 1599 the merchants of London subscribed a capital of thirty thousand pounds. In 1600 the East India Company obtained its first charter from Queen Elizabeth. In 1601 the first ships were despatched from England to open up a trade in the Eastern seas. It was not, however, until the year 1608 that an Englishman of any mark reached the court at Agra. Meanwhile the Moghul empire moved along. Selim ascended the throne at Agra under the name of Jehangír, "the conqueror of the world." The people filled the air with acclamations. The Amírs and Rajas of the empire prostrated

CHAPTER IV. themselves before the new Padishah. The imperial kettle-drums were beaten for forty days. Every night the palace was illuminated with thousands of lights; to all outward seeming every heart was filled with gaiety and joy.

CHAPTER V.

THE MOGHUL EMPIRE: JEHANGÍR.
A. D. 1605 TO 1627.

JEHANGÍR was a different man from Akber. He inherited all his father's weaknesses but none of his strength. So far he was a caricature of Akber. He had vices of his own. He was childish, untruthful, and selfish; he was cruel, unscrupulous, and besotted.[1]

Jehangír, a caricature of Akber.

Akber was a good type of a Moghul. He was simple and abstemious; he cared little for pomp or show. He was proud of his strength of limb, his sporting feats, his mastery over elephants, his hard riding on horses and dromedaries. He was generous and forgiving. He was somewhat spoilt by flattery; his head was turned by religious disputes. Otherwise he was a Moghul hero; in an earlier age he might have grown into a demi-god. To this day he is the ideal sovereign of India; just as Queen Elizabeth is the ideal sovereign of England. Scandal has been busy with the fame of both. Both were occasionally imperious and tyrannical; both

Ideal character of Akber.

[1] Jehangír had a Rajpoot mother; Hindú blood was running in his veins. It may be a question whether he did not inherit some of his vices from his mother rather than from his father.

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have been charged with illicit amours; but both have stood high in popular favour. To this day there is no sovereign so renowned in India as Akber; he was no fanatic; he dealt even-handed justice to all races and creeds. Even Mussulman bigots, who were furious at his heresies, were slow to condemn him. They said he was the dupe of Abul Fazl.[2]

Character of Jehangír.

Jehàngír was a Moghul of a far lower type. He liked hunting; he played at war; he was greedy of praise; he had a passion for dress and jewels; he was fond of eating and drinking; he had neither self-restraint nor self-respect; he was governed only by his fears; he was utterly regardless of his word; he had no sense of shame. He had feigned a zeal for Islam. He had rebelled against his father in the name of Islam. He had murdered Abul Fazl for the sake of Islam. He had gained the throne by swearing to maintain Islam. He preferred Mussulmans to Rajpoots, because the Mussulmans had helped him to rebel, whilst the Rajpoots were staunch to Akber. Yet, in spite of all this, his whole life was a revolt against the Koran. He had a Rajpoot taste for boar's flesh, strong drink, and

[2] It has already been seen that Rajpoot traditions accuse Akber of sensuality and adultery. (See *ante*, vol. iii. chap. 7.) The current story of the revolt of Jehangír against Akber shows the dark side of both son and father. When Jehangír revolted he followed the example of Absalom; he dishonoured a favourite wife of Akber, known as the "Pomegranate." Subsequently Akber pledged himself to pardon Jehangír. The prince relied on his father's promise, and sent in his submission. He was brought into the presence of Akber in the Ghusal-khana. Akber led Jehangír into the Mahal, or harem. There he forgot his promise; he broke into a violent rage; he clenched his fist at Jehangír; he struck his son on the mouth so hard and so often that Jehangír threw himself on the ground. Akber called Jehangír a fool and an ass for having believed in his promise. (See Herbert's Travels. Folio, pages 71, 72: London, 1638.) Mr Terry confirms the evidence of Herbert as regards the "Pomegranate." Further evidence against Akber is given by Asad Beg. Elliot's History, vol. vi.

pictures of men, women, and animals. He would not keep the Mussulman fasts. At a later period he favoured Christianity. His leanings towards Christianity will demand attention hereafter.

Outward life of Jehangír.

The outward life of Jehangír was much the same as the outward life of Akber. The Jharokha window, the Durbar court, and the Ghusal-khana, were the daily centres of attraction. The Padishah was compelled to show himself constantly to the multitude. Unless the people saw for themselves that he was still alive the country would be in an uproar. Every morning the crowd assembled beneath the Jharokha window to make their saláms to Jehangír as they had done to Akber. At noon there were the same parades, sports, games, and fights between animals, as in the days of Akber. Still there was a contrast between Akber and Jehangír. Akber was slow to condemn men to death. Jehangír condemned hundreds without inquiry; he revelled in seeing them executed; he looked on whilst elephants threw their victims in the air, or broke their bones, or trampled them under foot; he took pleasure in combats between naked men and hungry tigers.[3] Akber tried to restrict prostitution; Jehangír kept courtesans to sing and dance in Durbar.[4] Akber was a sober-minded sovereign,

[3] See Captain Hawkins's Narrative in Kerr's Collection of Voyages, vol. viii. Hawkins tells horrible stories, in which brave men were forced to wrestle with tigers without weapons of any kind. Numbers were killed. Wounded men were put to death lest they should live to curse the Padishah.

[4] Bernier relates a story which illustrates the coarseness of Jehangír and his court. A French physician named Bernard was in great favour with Jehangír. He fell in love with a dancing-girl of the palace; her mother refused all overtures. He went to the Durbar and asked Jehangír to give him the girl. Jehangír assented with a laugh. He told Bernard to carry her away on his shoulders. The Frenchman had no shame, and obeyed. Such a proceeding would not have been countenanced by Akber.

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who surrounded himself with sages and philosophers. Jehangír was a drunken prince, who stooped to gossip with boon companions. Akber sat talking with learned men until early morning. Jehangír stupefied himself with wine and opium, gabbled till he was maudlin, and slumbered where he fell.

Revolt of Khuzru: horrible cruelties.

Six months after the accession of Jehangír, his eldest son Khuzru broke out in revolt. Khuzru had been nominated by Akber to succeed him on the throne. He had been supported by the Rajpoot party who opposed the succession of Jehangír. He was inclined to Christianity.[5] He was in mortal fear of his father. He was afraid that some day he would be deprived of his eyes, or perhaps strangled.[6] He fled from Agra towards the Punjab. Numbers joined him. He besieged Lahore; he failed to capture the fortress. Jehangír pursued Khuzru with a large army; he sent on men to scare the rebels with rumours of his coming. The rebellion was soon broken up. Khuzru tried to escape to Persia as Humáyun had done. He was betrayed in Kábul, and sent in fetters to his father. Jehangír wreaked his wrath upon the rebels. Hundreds were flayed alive, made over to the elephants, or dragged through rivers. Hundreds were impaled on sharp stakes.[7] Khuzru was led past the lines of stakes;

[5] Roe says that Khuzru was a great friend to Christians. Catrou says that he was married to one wife and refused to marry a second. These points will be reviewed hereafter. Khuzru appears to have headed the anti-Mussulman party, whilst Jehangír sided with the Mussulmans.

[6] Khuzru had good reasons for his fears. Shah Abbas, the sovereign of Persia, the contemporary of Akber and Jehangír, had put his eldest son to death, and blinded two yöunger sons, on the bare suspicion that they might rebel. Jehangír plainly indicates in his Memoirs of himself (page 66), that he would be quite justified in putting his sons to death under like circumstances.

[7] Jehangír relates these sickening details in his Memoirs (see pages 84—88). He evidently gloated over the sufferings of the rebels.

he was forced to hear the shrieks of his followers, to witness their last agonies. His life was spared; he was kept a close prisoner. With rare exceptions he lingered in captivity for the rest of his days. CHAPTER V.

Outwardly Jehangír was more inclined to Christianity than his father Akber. Like him, he allowed the Portuguese to establish churches and schools, to preach where they pleased, to convert whom they pleased. He sent two nephews, the sons of his brother Danyál, to be instructed in Christianity. He listened to the Fathers until they thought they had converted him. He passed the line which Akber never passed. His two nephews became open Christians. They were conducted on elephants through the streets of Agra, and publicly baptized by the Fathers. Jehangír countenances Christianity.

Every one was mystified at this action. It was easy to understand why Jehangír favoured Christianity; it did not oblige him to fast; it allowed him to eat pork and drink wine. The public baptism was a riddle; it was unexpectedly solved. The princes asked the Fathers for Portuguese wives; they wanted to be married like Christians, and to live like Christians. The Fathers were aghast at the request; they chid the princes for making it. The princes returned their crosses and breviaries; they relapsed into Islam. It turned out that Jehangír had commanded them to ask for wives; he wanted Portuguese women for his own harem.[8] Hypocrisy and depravity.

A profound lesson underlies this incident. The intrigue of Jehangír may be dismissed; it only be- The lesson.

[8] See Sir Thomas Roe's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 30th October, 1616. Pinkerton's Collection of Travels, vol. viii. Father Catrou tells a similar story.

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trays the depraved working of his mind. The alleged conversion of the two princes opens up a new field of inquiry. It reveals a bar which shuts the people of India out of Christianity. It furnishes one reason why Hindús can become Mussulmans but cannot easily become Christians.

Marriage difficulties in conversion

If the two Moghul princes had been sincere Christians they could not have remained so without Christian wives. A Hindú or Mussulman wife would have played havoc with the new faith. Akber's Hindú wives weaned him from Islam; his Mussulman wives kept him from becoming an open Christian. No Portuguese of pure blood would have given a daughter in marriage to a Moghul; there was no guarantee that the Moghul would not relapse, marry other wives, and force his Christian wife to accept Islam. No Moghul would have married a Portuguese half-caste; the Moghul princes wanted white-complexioned wives. No young Moghuls would lead a life of celibacy; by giving up Christianity they obtained as many wives as they pleased.

Hindús barred against Christianity.

The conversion of a young Hindú to Christianity is attended with graver evils. Every Hindú boy is married whilst still a child. His conversion stops the completion of the marriage. He has become an out-caste. Christianity cannot give him a wife without breaking the law of marriage.[9] Whether he marries or whether he refrains, the girl to whom he is bound for life is the sufferer. She cannot

[9] By the law of marriage is meant the law which prevents a Christian from putting away his wife excepting for adultery. Protestant missionaries urge that they do not recognize child-marriages; they deny that such marriages are binding unless they have been completed at the age of maturity. The parents, however, on either side consider that the marriage is binding upon the children; if the boy-husband becomes a Christian the girl-wife becomes a widow. According to Hindú law widows never marry.

marry the Christian; she can marry no one else; henceforth she is doomed to a life of joyless widowhood.[10] CHAPTER V.

When a Hindú becomes a Mussulman he makes no such sacrifices. He breaks no law by taking other wives. Some Hindús may have become Mussulmans in order to obtain more wives. At this moment there are many millions of Mussulmans in India; there are few native Christians. How far this result is due to the marriage difficulty must be a matter of opinion. Easy converts to Islam.

From the beginning of the reign of Jehangír the English element was at work in India. It struggled hard against the Portuguese element. The Portuguese had traded in India for more than a century. They had been friendly with Akber; they were friends with Jehangír. At first the English avoided the Indian continent; they traded with the islands of the Indian Archipelago. But the collision was inevitable. The English were bent on opening a trade at Surat, a port which had been a centre of trade for ages. Surat is on the western coast; it is a hundred and eighty miles to the north of Bombay; it is twenty miles up the English element in India.

[10] As a matter of fact, whenever a young Hindú is converted two persons are condemned to celibacy, two families are plunged in misery. The suffering of Protestant families at the conversion of one of its members to Roman Catholicism is small in comparison with the suffering of Hindú families at the conversion of a son to Christianity.

The author has been assured that there are conversions which entail no such misery. It may be so as far as the convert is concerned. The young girl-wife, however, is doomed to be a widow all her days. She may be given to another man. No respectable Hindú will regard her as a wife.

Some years ago the British legislature sought to relieve the converted husband. If the girl after due probation declared that she would not live with him the marriage was treated as null and void. It thus provided a relief for the husband; it could not possibly relieve the widow.

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river Taptí. In 1608 Captain Hawkins went to Surat in the ship "Hector;" he carried a letter from James the First to Jehangír. The Moghuls were afraid of the guns of the "Hector;" they were civil to Hawkins. Mukarrab Khan, viceroy of Guzerat, came to Surat and bought many things of Hawkins. The Portuguese at Surat thwarted Hawkins in every possible way. They bribed Mukarrab Khan; they jeered at James the First as a King of fishermen; they scoffed at Great Britain as a contemptible island. They captured an English boat; they did not dare attack the "Hector." In the end Hawkins loaded his ship and sent her back to England. When the "Hector" had gone, Mukarrab Khan refused to pay for the goods he had purchased. At last Hawkins secured an escort to protect him against robbers, and found his way to Agra.

Mission of Captain Hawkins.

Jehangír took a great fancy to Hawkins. He granted every request at once. He would permit the English to set up a factory at Surat; he would protect them against oppressions and exactions. He promoted Hawkins to the rank or command of Four hundred horse. He offered a wife to Hawkins; a "white maiden" of the palace, who was to be baptized for the purpose. Hawkins declined the "white maiden;" he married an Armenian lady; he settled at Agra to promote the interest of the English Company. For two years Hawkins was in daily attendance at the palace. He drank with Jehangír in the Ghusal-khana.[11] He answered a thousand questions about Europe and her princes.[12]

[11] It is a strange feature in Moghul life that the sovereign should hold his evening assemblies in his Ghusal khana, or bath-room. Some one describes the bath itself; it was made of gold and studded with rubies and emeralds. The reference has been mislaid.

[12] Father Catrou states that during the reign of Jehangír all the Franks in

Failure.

Hawkins complained to Jehangír of the oppressions of Mukarrab Khan. A host of charges were soon brought against the Guzerat viceroy. He had extorted money; he had committed outrages. He had seized a Hindú girl under pretence of sending her to the Padishah; he had kept her himself. Mukarrab Khan was summoned to Agra; he was "squeezed" in Moghul fashion; all his goods were confiscated. Still Mukarrab Khan bribed freely. In the end he was restored to his government; he revenged himself upon Hawkins. He promised to bring rubies from Goa if Jehangír would prohibit the English from trading. Other Amírs joined in the outcry against the English. One declared that if the English got a footing in India they would soon become masters.[13] Jehangír got alarmed; he withdrew all his promises; he forbade the English to trade in India. In 1611 Hawkins and his wife went away from Agra; the labour of two years had been thrown away.[14]

Hawkins's account of Jehangír.

Hawkins sent home wonderful stories of the Great Moghul. Jehangír had a yearly revenue of

Agra had access to the palace. The name of Franks includes all Europeans, whatever may be their nation. Jehangír drank all night with the Franks; he delighted in doing so when Mussulmans were obliged to fast. If any Mussulmans were present they were compelled to drink likewise.

[13] This prophecy will appear extraordinary to those who are not familiar with the current of thought in India. Europeans have always been respected so long as they continue to be Europeans. The ambition of all educated natives is to appear in public as much as possible like Europeans. These sentiments were just as strong when the Moghuls were in the zenith of their power, as they are in the present day. The Amír in Jehangír's court saw that the Englishman was strong and white-complexioned; his fears were shared by his countrymen.

[14] Hawkins has no further place in history. He joined another merchant adventurer at Cambay. He undertook trading voyages to the Indian Archipelago. He returned to his native land, but died off the coast of Ireland. His Armenian wife married again in England. The best account of Hawkins's career is to be found in Kerr's Voyages, vol. viii. Further particulars will be found in Purchas's Pilgrims.

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fifty millions sterling.[15] He spent eight thousand pounds a day on himself and women. He had more than twenty millions of treasure at all his great fortresses;—Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and Ajmír. He had thousands of elephants, horses, camels, mules, antelopes, hawks, pigeons, and singing-birds. He had hundreds of lions, buffaloes, hunting-dogs, and ounces. He could arm twenty-five thousand men at an hour's notice. His nobles could furnish three hundred thousand horsemen at a week's warning. The officers of his court and camp numbered thirty-six thousand. He inherited the wealth of all his nobles. He took a present from every one who came before him. At every new year and at every imperial birthday the nobles strove to outdo each other in the richness of their presents. The vice-roys of provinces "squeezed" their subjects to purchase court favour. They were often called to court and "squeezed" in their turn. The Padishah was the sovereign lord of all. His will was law. He was absolute master of all the land in the empire. He could give what he pleased; he could take what he pleased.

Jehangír removes to Ajmír.

After Hawkins's departure Jehangír left Agra. He removed to Ajmír in Rajpootana, the half-way house between Delhi and Ujain. His daily life was the same round of court routine; the Jharokha window at day-break and noon; the Durbar court in the afternoon; the Ghusal-khana in the evening. Jehangír was at this time a stout man of forty-

[15] This income must have appeared incredible in Europe. The revenue of England and Scotland was about a million; that of Louis the Fourteenth was about five millions. Further particulars will be found in Mr Thomas's Essay on the Revenue Resources of the Moghul Empire. London: 1871.

five.[16] He was the sovereign lord of Hindustan; he was the willing slave of a vicious and vindictive woman named Núr Mahal.[17] CHAPTER V.

[16] Hawkins was at Agra about 1608—11. Coryat, who was at Agra about 1615, says that Jehangír was fifty-three. There are always contradictory accounts as to the age of a Moghul sovereign.

[17] See Hawkins in Kerr, vol. viii. Núr Mahal is a heroine in Lalla Rookh. She appears as the Light of the Harem. Moore's poetry is pretty; his oriental characters are Europeans in fancy costume. Núr Mahal signifies the "Light of the Harem." Jehangír afterwards changed her name to Núr Jehan, i. e. the "Light of the World."

Hawkins' description of Jehangír is worth extracting. "Concerning the king's religion and behaviour it is thus. In the morning about break of day, he is at his beads, his face to the westward [i. e. towards Mecca] in a private fair room upon a fair jet stone, having only a Persian lambskin under him. He hath eight chains of beads, every one of which contains four hundred; they are of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, lignum aloes, eshen [?] and coral. At the upper end of this jet stone are placed the images of Christ and our Lady, graven in stone. He turneth over his beads, and saith so many words, to wit, three thousand two hundred words. [Jehangír refers to these beads in his Autobiography: the words he repeated were different names of God.] He then presenteth himself to the people to receive their salâms or good-morrow, for which purpose multitudes resort thither every morning. This done, he sleepeth two hours more, then dineth and passeth his time with his women. At noon he sheweth himself again to the people, sitting till three or four o'clock to view his pastimes by men and beasts, every day sundry kinds. At three o'clock all the nobles in Agra, whom sickness detaineth not, resort to the court; and the king comes forth in open audience, sitting in his seat royal, every man standing in his degree before him: the chief within a red rail, the rest without. This red rail is three steps higher than the place where the rest stand. Men are placed by officers; there are others to keep men in order. In the midst, right before the king, standeth an officer, with his master hang-man, accompanied with forty others of the same profession with hatchets on their shoulders, and others with whips. Here the king heareth causes some hours every day; he then departs to his house of prayer; which ended, four or five sorts of well-dressed meats are brought him, whereof he eats what he likes to stay his stomach, drinking once of his strong drink. After this he comes forth into a private room where none may come, but such as himself nominates. In this place he drinks other five cups, which is the portion that the physicians allow him, and then lays him down to sleep, every man departing home. When he hath slept two hours, they awake him, and bring his supper to him, thrusting it into his mouth, not being able to feed himself. This is about one o'clock at night; and so he sleepeth the rest of the night. In this cup-space he doth many idle things; but nothing without writing be he drunken or sober. For he hath writers by course which write all, not omitting what he doth with his women; to the end that when he dieth, those writings may be brought forth, and thence what is thought fit may be inserted in their chronicles. When any poor men come to demand justice of the king, they go to a certain rope fastened to two pillars, near where the king sits; this rope is full of bells plated

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Story of Núr Mahal.

The story of Núr Mahal is an oriental romance; it begins in the reign of Akber. She had been betrothed very early to a Persian. Her mother had taken her to the palace to visit one of Akber's ladies. Jehangír saw her; he fell in love with her. The mother was exasperated; the matter reached the ear of Akber. Few things exasperated Akber more than the lawless amours to which the Moghuls were prone. Núr Mahal was sent to Bengal and married to her betrothed.

Marries Jehangír.

Time passed, and Akber died. Jehangír came to the throne; he ordered the viceroy of Bengal to send Núr Mahal to the palace. The viceroy mooted the matter to her husband; the husband stabbed him to the heart, and was then cut to pieces by the guards. Amidst the ferment Núr Mahal was sent to the palace; she refused to see Jehangír. Various stories are told of what followed. The most probable one is that she became one of the slaves to Jehangír's Rajpoot mother. At last ambition began to stir in her heart. She became the wife of Jehangír; henceforth her influence was paramount. Her father was made prime minister; her brother Asof Khan was raised to a high post.[18] Within a year after her marriage five favourite queens of Jehangír perished in the harem; it was whispered at court that they had been poisoned by Núr Mahal.[19] In one direction her influence was bene-

with gold, and with shaking the rope, the king, hearing the sound, sends to know the cause, and doth justice accordingly." Purchas's Pilgrimage, reprinted at Calcutta, 1864.

[18] Asof Khan is not a name but a title. The brother of Núr Mahal is always known as Asof Khan.

[19] See Memoir of Jehangír in Father Catrou's History of the Moghuls. Núr Mahal was chief wife in the imperial harem. Her authority was paramount

ficial; she prevented Jehangír from drinking in the day-time; she induced him to moderate his evening potations.[20] CHAPTER V.

Jehangír had no children by Núr Mahal. He had four sons by other wives, who all played a part in history. Their names were Khuzru, Parwíz, Khurram, and Shahryár. Jehangír's four sons.

Khuzru, the eldest, was the rebel. He was still in confinement; he was in the charge of a faithful Rajpoot named Anna Rai; he was vainly hoping for a day when he might be reconciled to his father. Khuzru.

Parwíz was a drunkard. Drunkenness was the curse of the family; his two uncles, Murád and Danyál, had died of drunkenness; his father Jehangír was a drunkard. Parwíz was vain and arrogant, like all Moghuls; he had small capacity. He was in nominal command of the army of the Dekhan; he was a mere tool in the hands of the Khan Khanán, who held the real command. Parwíz.

Khurram, afterwards known as Shah Jehan, was the sharpest of the family. He was haughty, aspiring, false, and subtle. He was no drunkard like Parwíz; he was much given to women. Ambition was his master passion; he saw the throne in the distance; his life was a daily intrigue. He had married the niece of Núr Mahal, the daughter of Asof Khan;[21] he had thus secured the support of Khurram, afterwards Shah Jehan.

paramount in the harem. The chief wife exercised the same authority in the households of the Moghul Khans.

[20] Jehangir, in his Autobiography, says that he was accustomed to drink twenty cups of wine each day. Each cup was about six ounces; this would amount to some eight or ten bottles. Jehangír always exaggerated; he never told the truth in anything. He says that he reduced his allowance to five cups; Hawkins, who knew him well, says that he drank one cup in private with his evening meal; and five cups afterwards in the Ghusal-khana. Jehangír, in his Autobiography, ignores the private cup.

[21] This lady became famous in after years. Her name was Muntáz Mahal.

CHAPTER V. the favourite and her brother. He had already distinguished himself in the field; he had defeated the Rana of Chitór, now known as the Rana of Udaipur; he had induced the Rana to make a show of submission. He was straining every point to induce his father to recall Parwíz and the Khan Khanán from the Dekhan, and to give him the sole command in their room.

Shahryár. Shahryár was a young man of no capacity. He only played a subordinate part in the latter years of the reign.

War in the Dekhan: treachery of the Khan Khanán. The all-engrossing event of the time was the war in the Dekhan. Ahmadnagar was still the bone of contention between the Great Moghul and the Sultans of the Dekhan. An Abyssinian, named Malik Amber, had become the master spirit at Ahmadnagar. Malik Amber had set up a prince of the fallen dynasty; he ruled as minister; he secured some help from Bíjápur and Golkonda; he recovered possession of Ahmadnagar; he drove the Moghuls northward to Burhanpur. The Khan Khanán commanded the Moghul army in the Dekhan; he was taking bribes from the Sultans of the Dekhan; he was listless and indifferent. At times he made a convulsive effort to recover Ahmadnagar; it was only for a show. Years passed away and nothing was done.[22]

Aggressions of the English. The English were as yet of no account at the Moghul court. After the departure of Hawkins they made some stir at Surat. They had grown

She was also known as the Taj Bíbí. She was the favourite wife of Shah Jehan. When she died he built the mausoleum for her at Agra, which is known as the Taj Mahal.

[22] See Blockmann's notices of the Khan Khanán, No. 29 on Abul Fazl's list of Amírs and Mansubdars. Also life of Abul Fazl.

impatient of the insolence of the Moghuls; they had taken the law into their own hands; they had cut up the Moghul trade between Surat and Mocha. An English captain, named Sir Henry Middleton, was prevented from trading at Surat. He sailed to the Red Sea; he stopped every Moghul ship that was going to Mocha or coming from Mocha; he made the Moghuls on board sell him all their merchandise, and take English merchandise in exchange, at the market rates which prevailed at Surat. The Moghul merchants at Surat were horribly frightened. They began to give in; they permitted the English to trade at Surat. The Portuguese interfered; they threatened the Moghuls; they captured Moghul ships by way of reprisals. Piratical wars were carried on between the English and the Portuguese. The Moghuls saw the English beating the Portuguese; they began to respect the English.[23]

Mission of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615—18.

In 1615, four years after the departure of Hawkins, another Englishman appeared upon the scene. This was Sir Thomas Roe. He was a far grander man than Hawkins; he was lord ambassador from King James; he had a secretary, a chaplain, and a retinue. His journal is a reflex of the Moghul court; it portrays the real life of Moghul despots; it brings the actors upon the stage as living characters.

Landing of Roe: rudeness of Moghul officials.

Sir Thomas Roe landed at Surat with some show of state.[24] The English ships in the river were

[23] Kerr's Collection of Travels, vol. viii.

[24] Sir Thomas Roe was a shrewd Englishman of the Elizabethan era. He was born in 1568; consequently he was about forty-eight years of age. He had been a commoner of Magdalen College at Oxford. He had afterwards read for the bar. He died in 1644, aged seventy-six. He was buried at Woodford, near Kent. See Introduction by Samuel Richardson to Roe's Negotiations with the Ottoman Porte from 1621 to 1628. Folio: London, 1740.

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decked with flags and streamers; they fired a salute of forty-eight guns. A guard of honour was formed of captains, merchants, and eighty men under arms. The Moghul officials received Roe in an open tent. They soon disgusted him by their rudeness. They wanted to search his servants; they broke open his boxes. He told them the boxes contained presents for Jehangír; they cared not a whit. They gave him lodgings in the town of Surat. A whole month passed away before he could get carriage and escort for carrying the presents as far as Burhanpur.[25]

Journey from Surat to Burhanpur.

Jehangír was not at Agra; he had gone south to Ajmír; he made Ajmír his head-quarters. The road from Surat runs due east to Burhanpur; it then runs due north to Ajmír. Roe was fifteen days going from Surat to Burhanpur. The country was desolate. The towns and villages were built of mud; there was not a house fit to lodge in. At one place he was guarded with thirty horsemen and twenty musketeers because of the robbers on the mountains. At Burhanpur the Kotwál came out to meet him with sixteen horsemen carrying streamers. He was conducted to a house with showy stone fronting; the rooms were like ovens; he therefore slept in his tent.[26]

Roe's interview with Parwiz.

Burhanpur was the head-quarters of the Moghul army of the Dekhan. Roe paid a visit to Parwíz. The prince affected the same state as his father. A body of horsemen were waiting outside the house

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Roe's Journal is published more or less abridged in the different collections of Travels by Purchas, Pinkerton, and Kerr. It is the best authority for the history of the reign of Jehangír from 1615 to 1618. It brings out the true character of Jehangír and the nature of Moghul rule.

[25] Roe's Journal, 26th September to the 30th October, 1615.

[26] Roe's Journal, 1st November to the 14th, 1615.

to salám him on his coming out. Roe entered the court. Parwíz was sitting in a gallery with a canopy over his head. Below the gallery was a platform railed in for his great men.[27] Roe refused to prostrate before him; "he was an ambassador," he said, "not a servant." He went up three steps to the platform; the great men around him were standing with their hands before them like slaves. Roe made his bow to the prince; Parwíz bowed in return. Roe explained his embassy from the King of England. Parwíz asked questions. Roe would have stepped up to the gallery to answer them; he was stopped by a secretary. He was told that neither the Shah of Persia nor the Great Turk would be admitted to the gallery. All this was Moghul arrogance. Parwíz was otherwise good-natured; he granted every request. The English might establish a factory at Burhanpur. He would supply carriage and escort to enable Roe to get on to Agra. He accepted Roe's presents graciously; he was softened by the sight of a case of liquors; he talked of speaking to Roe in a private chamber; he left the gallery for the purpose. Roe waited in vain for a summons. At last he was told that he might leave the palace. Parwíz had got so drunk that he could see nobody.[28]

Journey to Ajmir.

Roe was a month going from Burhanpur to Ajmír. He journeyed to Mandu, the great fortress of Malwa; thence to Chitór, the ancient capital of Rajpootana, the ruined stronghold of the Rana. He suffered from fever all the way. He reached

[27] This was known as the red rail. In the Durbar hall of Jehangír there was an outer rail, to separate the body of the nobles from the commonalty. At each ascent there were three steps. Three steps led to the platform; three more to the gallery.

[28] Roe's Journal, 14th November to the 27th, 1615.

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Ajmír on the twenty-third of December, 1615. On the tenth of January, 1616, he had his first audience with Jehangír.[29]

Roe attends the Durbar.

Roe's visit to the Durbar was a great event in Indian history. He saw Jehangír sitting upon a throne in a raised gallery at the back of the Durbar hall. He refused to prostrate himself, and the point was waived. He went up to the first rail which separated the commonalty from the nobility; there he made his first reverence. He was led through the nobility to the red rail; there he made a second reverence. He ascended three steps to the platform; there he made a third reverence. He found himself amongst princes and ministers. He likened the scene to a London theatre. The King was sitting in his gallery. The great men

[29] Roe's Journal, 27th November, 1615, to 10th January, 1616.

Near Chitór Sir Thomas Roe fell in with an eccentric personage named Thomas Coryat. This man had a mania for travelling and a passion for notoriety. He had wandered on foot over Turkey and Greece. He had walked from Jerusalem to Agra and Ajmír. Altogether he must have walked several thousands of miles. He was called the world's foot-post. He was poor, but honest and truthful. He says that he often lived on a penny a day. He only spent two pounds ten shillings between Jerusalem and Ajmír. His ordinary drink was water. He went to Surat, where the English gave him some sack. The sack killed him. He died at Surat in December, 1617. See Terry's Voyage to the East Indies.

In 1615 Coryat sent letters from the court of Jehangír at Ajmír to different personages in England. His description of Jehangír is striking:—"Jehangír is fifty-three years of age. His complexion is neither white nor black; it is olive. His revenues are forty millions of crowns, of the value of six shillings each. It is said that he is uncircumcised. He speaketh very reverently of our Saviour, calling him the great prophet Jesus. He presenteth himself thrice every day without fail to his nobles; at the rising of the sun, which he adoreth by the elevation of his hands; at noon, and at five o'clock in the evening. Twice every week elephants fight before him." Coryat boasted that at Ajmír he had ridden upon an elephant. "I have determined," he says, "to have my picture expressed in my next book sitting upon an elephant." His wish was gratified. A barbarous wood-cut of Coryat sitting upon an elephant was duly published. His pamphlet was entitled,—"Thomas Coryat, traveller for the English wits: Greeting. From the Court of the Great Moghul at Asmere." London: 1616.

were lifted on the stage as actors. The vulgar were the audience who looked on.

Audience with Jehangir.

Jehangír received the English ambassador with courtly condescension. He referred to the King of England as his royal brother. He looked curiously at the letter from King James; it was accompanied by a translation in Persian. He received the presents with much affability. They consisted of virginals, knives, an embroidered scarf, a rich sword, and an English coach. A musician in the ambassador's train was ordered to play upon the virginals. The coach remained in the outer court; Jehangír sent persons to look at it. He asked many questions. He was anxious about Roe's health. He offered to send his own physicians. He advised Roe to keep within the house until he was quite strong. He told the ambassador to ask freely for all he wanted. He then dismissed the Englishman. Roe went away charmed with his reception. He was told that no ambassador had been received with such favour before.[30]

[30] Roe's Journal, 10th January, 1616. The entry of this date is worth extracting; many of the details correspond to those related by Captain Hawkins; they are repeated because the two accounts confirm each other. "January the 10th. I went," says Sir Thomas Roe, "to court at four in the afternoon to the Durbar, where the Moghul daily sits to entertain strangers, receive petitions and presents, give out orders, and to see and be seen. And here it will be proper to give some account of his court. None but eunuchs come within that king's private lodgings, and his [Tartar] women who guard him with warlike weapons. These punish one another for any offence committed. The Moghul every morning shows himself to the common people at a window [the Jharokha], that looks into a plain before his gate. At noon he is there again to see elephants and wild beasts fight, the men of rank being under him within a rail. Hence he retires to sleep among his women. After noon he comes to the Durbar. After supper at eight o'clock he comes down to the Ghusal-khana, a fair court, in the midst whereof is a throne of free stone, on which he sits, or sometimes below in a chair, where none are admitted but of the first quality, and few of them without leave. Here he discourses of indifferent things very affably. No business of state is done anywhere but at these two last places, where it is publicly discussed, and so registered; which register might be seen for two shillings, and the common people know as

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Childishness of Jehangír.

When the Durbar was over Jehangír ceased to be a great sovereign; he became an inquisitive Moghul. He went out and examined the coach; he got into it and made his servants draw him about. He made Roe's English servant array him in the scarf and sword in English fashion. He strutted about; he drew his sword and brandished it. He complained to the Portuguese priests that the presents were very poor. He thought that the King of England ought to have sent him jewels.[31]

Difficulties in negotiating a treaty.

For many months Roe thought that his negotiations were progressing. He was well received by Khurram, who promised to redress all grievances.[32] He was well received by Jehangír, who issued firmáns abolishing all land transit duties. But the firmáns were only orders; they might be broken with impunity. Roe wanted a solemn treaty signed by the Padishah. He ignored the fact that a treaty would bind the Moghul nobles and officials to certain fixed conditions; that the English could offer no equivalent in return beyond a few presents and a promised increase of trade; that not a minister or governor in the empire would agree to a treaty which set aside his own authority.[33]

much as the council; so that every day the King's resolutions are public news, and exposed to the censure of every scoundrel. This method is never altered unless sickness or drink obstruct it; and this must be known, for if he be unseen one day without a reason assigned, the people would mutiny; and for two days no excuse would serve, but the doors must be opened, and some admitted to see him to satisfy others. On Tuesday he sits in judgment at the Jharokha, and hears the meanest person's complaints, examines both parties, and often sees execution done by his elephants."

[31] Roe's Letter to the East India Company, dated at Ajmír, 25th January, 1616.

[32] Khurram was lord of Surat; that is, he drew the revenues of Surat while living at court. He was expecting the command of the army in the Dekhan. He was the rising man in the Moghul court.

[33] Roe's Journal, *passim*.

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There was another feature in the negotiations which annoyed the English ambassador. Everything that occurred at court, every act and word of the Padishah, was written down by the writers and kept as records of the reign. No secrecy was preserved. Any one by paying a rupee might read the record of the most private and delicate transaction. When the sovereign died the chronicles of the reign were drawn up from these records.[34]

All records open to the public.

In March the Nau-roz, or feast of the New Year, was celebrated at the Moghul court. It was not a Mussulman feast; it had been kept in Persia for ages before Muhammad was born. Jehangír appeared at the Durbar in all his glory. His throne was of mother-of-pearl. He sat upon cushions which were beset with pearls and precious stones. Over his head was a canopy of cloth and gold; it was fringed with pearls; it was hung with apples, pears, and pomegranates of gold.[35] In the court behind the Durbar hall there was a large pavilion railed in, nearly square, covering an area of fifty-six paces in length, and forty-three paces in breadth. It was covered with Persian carpets. Overhead were canopies of silk, velvet, and cloth of gold, supported by bamboos covered with like material. Within the square were a number of little houses; one of them was made of silver; there were also other curiosities.

Feast of the Nau-roz.

[34] The appointment of Wakiahnawis, or court writers, has already been noticed. The passion for writing chronicles of everything that took place has been a characteristic of Moghuls from the remotest antiquity. It finds expression in the book of Esther; the chronicles of the empire were read to King Ahasuerus. The same practice is noticed by Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo. Similar chronicles are preserved to this day in the palace of the King of Burma.

[35] The throne and the canopy over it seems to have been shaped like a four-post bedstead of the old-fashioned kind.

CHAPTER V. Round about the court were the pavilions of the nobles, stored with the rarities that were to be presented to the Padishah.[36]

Incongruous display.

The next day Roe saw the display of wealth in the great pavilion. It was more patched than glorious. The things were incongruous. It was like a show of plate and embroidered slippers in the same cupboard. At one end were some pictures that the ambassador had brought from England; portraits of James the First, Queen Anne, the Lady Elizabeth, the Countess of Somerset and Salisbury, and Sir Thomas Smith, first governor of the East India Company.[37]

Roe snubbed.

The English ambassador soon began to weary of the Moghul court. The novelty wore off; the officials snubbed him. One day the red rail was closed against him; he complained to Jehangír; he was never shut out afterwards. Possibly the occasion was exceptional. The son of the Rana of Udaipur paid his homage that day; three times the Rajpoot prince prostrated himself before the Padishah. Jehangír then received him in his own gallery and embraced his head. Roe was soured by the ceremonial. A curt entry appears in his journal:—"Elephants were paraded; courtesans sang and danced; *sic transit gloria mundi.*" [38]

Opposition to the treaty.

About this time Roe asked Jehangír for a treaty. The request created some confusion. The grandees at court were resolved that the English ambassador

[36] Roe's Journal, 11th March, 1616. Hawkins also describes the feast of the Nau-roz. He says that the great pavilion covered two acres; that other pavilions were set up with lattice-work for the queens to look through. He adds that the entire area covered six acres.

[37] Roe's Journal, 12th March.

[38] Roe's Journal, 12th March to 23rd.

should not have a treaty; they were afraid lest Jehangír should agree to a treaty. Khurram and Asof Khan tried to hustle away the interpreter. Asof Khan winked and nodded at the interpreter. Roe, however, would be heard. Jehangír said that his firmans were sufficient. Roe pressed him for a treaty. Jehangír asked if the English would give him jewels. Roe replied that jewels came from India, where Jehangír was King; how then could the English bring back his own jewels? Jehangír was silent but not convinced. One grandee stuck up for the Portuguese. "The English," he said, "bring nothing but swords, knives, and cloth; the Portuguese bring rubies, emeralds, and diamonds."[39]

Roe's draft treaty.

The English ambassador worried Jehangír; he also worried Khurram and Asof Khan. Khurram was afraid that his father would turn against him. At last Roe was told to draft a treaty. This was work after the Englishman's heart. The treaty was drafted with all speed; it was creditable to Roe's diplomatic genius. There was to be perpetual peace between the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Hindustan. The English were to trade wherever they pleased; their presents to the Padishah were to pass unopened; their goods were not to be seized under pretence of the Padishah's use; they were to pay no transit duties except an *ad valorem* duty of three-and-a-half per cent. at the port where the goods were shipped, or landed; the Padishah was not to inherit the goods of deceased Englishmen;[40] governors or officers break-

[39] Roe's Journal, 26th March.

[40] The Padishah inherited the property of all those who died in his service. He also inherited the goods of all foreigners who died within his dominions.

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ing the treaty were to be punished. In return the English were to furnish the Padishah with everything he wanted at reasonable rates; they were to help him against all his enemies. Such a treaty appeared unexceptional to Roe; he expected to get it sealed at once; he failed to see that its conditions were obnoxious to every viceroy and governor throughout the empire. Jehangír might seal the treaty for the sake of the presents. Khurram and Asof Khan were resolved to prevent him at all hazards.[41]

Factions at court.

At this period the Moghul court was divided into factions. No ideas were involved; no principles were at stake. Khurram was only striving to get the better of his brother Parwíz. Jehangír had been persuaded to recall Parwíz, and to give Khurram the command of the army of the Dekhan. In June, 1616, the Bráhmans were consulted; an early day was fixed for the departure of Khurram. Things, however, drifted on till November before he began his journey.[42]

Jehangír's love of gossip.

Throughout this interval Roe effected nothing. He frequently attended the Durbar and the Ghusal-khana. Jehangír was always ready for a gossip. He was eager to see Roe's pictures, to have copies made, to brag about his own artists. He wanted a horse from England; if six were put on board a ship, one might survive the passage; if it was lean, it might be fattened after it landed. He asked how often Roe drank in the day, how much he drank, what he drank in India, what he drank in England,

[41] Roe's Journal, 26th March to 31st.

[42] Roe's Journal, June to November. Had Jehangír been a Mussulman he never would have consulted Bráhmans.

what beer was, how it was made, could Roe make it?[43] CHAPTER V.

The news at the Moghul court was of the oriental type. Two eunuchs quarrelled about one of Nur Mahal's ladies; one killed the other. The survivor was put to death by the elephants. The lady was tied to a stake and buried alive up to the arm-pits. She was to be exposed to the Indian sun for three days without sustenance; she died after twenty-four hours. Her cash and jewels were valued at a hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling.[44] Harem atrocity.

A hundred thieves were brought before Jehangír; they were condemned to death without further parley. The head thief was torn to pieces by dogs in front of Roe's house. Thirteen others had their throats cut; they were left naked and bleeding at the same place. The remainder were divided into companies; they were butchered and exposed in different streets of the city of Ajmír.[45] Execution of thieves.

One event took place which gave Roe some insight into the administration of the provinces. Jamál-ud-dín Husain, the viceroy of Bihár, paid a visit to the court of Ajmír. He was an old man of seventy; he had served under Humáyun and Akber. He struck up a friendship with the English ambassador; probably he was eager to propitiate any one who had the ear of Jehangír. To use Roe's words, "he praised the good prophet Jesus and his laws, and was full of very delightful and fruitful discourse."[46] He talked about the slavery of the Provincial administration.

[43] Roe's Journal, *ib.* [44] Roe's Journal, *ib.* [45] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

[46] Mr Terry, who went out to India as chaplain to the embassy, makes the following significant remark:—"There is not a man amongst the Mussulmans, but those of the baser sort, that mentions the name of our Saviour, whom they call the Lord Christ, without reverence and respect. They say he was a good

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people, the want of laws, the great increase in the Moghul empire. He enlarged upon the revenue of the empire; how it was raised; how it was swelled by presents, confiscations, and fines. Every province paid a yearly rent to the Padishah. He himself paid eleven lakhs yearly, or a hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling. All beyond that he kept for himself; he took whatever he liked. He had the rank of Five thousand horse. He drew two hundred rupees a year for each horse; he only kept fifteen hundred horsemen; the surplus was dead pay. He also drew a pension from the Padishah of a thousand rupees a day.[47] He said that twenty other nobles received the same pay; some received double.[48]

man and just, lived without sin, and did greater miracles than any before or since. They even call him "the breath of God," but cannot conceive how he should be the Son of God, and therefore will not believe. Notwithstanding this, the Mussulmans in general think Christians so unclean, that they will not eat with us nor yet of anything that is dressed in our vessels." See Terry's Voyage to the East Indies.

[47] There is perhaps some exaggeration here. Jamál-ud-dín Husain appears in Abul Fazl's list of Mansubdars. (See Mr Blockmann's translation of the Á'ín-i-Akbari, No. 164.) His command of Five thousand horse was only brevet rank. Five years after his meeting with Roe, he was pensioned off on four thousand rupees a month on account of his advanced age. Roe calls him viceroy of Patna. Bihár was the real name of his province; Patna was the capital of Bihár.

[48] Roe's Journal, 12th August to the 19th. Jamál-ud-dín Husain gave an entertainment to Roe at a garden-house about a mile from Ajmír. A collation was served in the middle of the day; it comprised dishes of raisins, almonds, pistachios, and fruit of all kinds. In the evening there was a substantial meal; it comprised dishes of meat, roast, boiled, and fried; also rice and salads.

The servants were diligent, respectful, and orderly. At both meals the company took their seats on the carpet. At the collation Jamál-ud-dín sat with his English guests; at the evening meal he sat apart with his Moghul guests. When the entertainment was over he gave Roe a present according to custom; it consisted of five cases of sugar-candy dressed with musk, and a loaf of refined white sugar weighing fifty pounds. He also pressed Roe to accept a hundred loaves more of the white sugar; he said that it came from his government, and cost him nothing. After a few days he dined at Roe's house on some banqueting stuff prepared by a Mussulman cook. He would not touch the meats which had been dressed in the English fashion; he begged that three or four dishes might be sent to his house, as he wished to taste them privately.

Birthday of Jehangir: weighing ceremony:

The second of September was Jehangír's birthday. The Padishah was weighed six times with great ceremony in large golden scales. Jehangír sat in one scale cross-legged like a tailor. The other scale was piled up with parcels, which were changed each time. He was weighed against gold and silver, silks and stuffs, grains and butter. The things weighed were given away to the poor.

Elephant show.

In the afternoon there was a grand show of elephants before the Durbar. All the larger elephants, known as lord elephants, were paraded before Jehangír. Every lord elephant was provided with chains, bells, and furniture, of gold and silver; he had a harem of four female elephants; he was attended with gilt banners; he was waited on by eight or ten other elephants clothed in gold, silk, and silver. Twelve companies of these elephants marched past Jehangír, and made their saláms. The first lord elephant was a magnificent beast of wonderful stature and beauty; the plates on his head and breast were set with rubies and emeralds. Roe declared that he had never seen such a sight before.[49]

Carouse in the Ghusal-khana.

On the evening of the birth-day Jehangír was drinking with his nobles. According to the law no man was admitted to the Ghusal-khana whose breath smelt of wine. If Jehangír heard of any departure from the law he would order the offender to be whipped in his presence. On state occasions he commanded the nobles to drink; then every man was bound to obey. At ten o'clock at night Jehangír sent for Roe. The ambassador was in bed; he went to the palace in all haste. Jehangír was

[49] Roe's Journal, 2nd September. See also Terry.

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sitting cross-legged on a little throne. He was decked with jewels. His nobles around him were in their best array. Vessels of gold were lying about; flagons of wine were standing by. All were ordered to drink. Every one got drunk except Khurram, Asof Khan, and the English ambassador. Jehangír scattered dishes full of rupees to the multitude below. He threw about gold and silver almonds for his nobles to scramble for. At last Jehangír dropped off to sleep. The lights were put out; and the party groped their way out of the Ghusal-khana.[50]

A viceroy in disgrace.

Another incident at court brings out a picture of Moghul times. A viceroy of Guzerat had fallen into disgrace; he had disobeyed orders; he came to make his submission before the Jharokha window. His feet were bare; his ankles were chained; his turban was pulled over his eyes so that he might see no one before he beheld Jehangír. He made his reverence, answered a few questions, and was forgiven. His chain was taken off; he was clothed

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[50] Roe's Journal, *ib.* These almonds were exceedingly thin and of small value. Roe discovered that the pears, apples, and pomegranates that hung before the Moghul's throne were equally hollow. He had been told that they were all solid.

An amusing incident is connected with Roe's visit to the palace on this particular evening. Everything that transpired in Roe's private lodgings reached the ears of Jehangír. Roe had a portrait of a "dear friend," which Jehangír had never seen. Roe was told to bring the portrait; it was that of a lady who had been dead for some years. Roe was resolved not to part with the portrait. He took a French picture as well, which he hoped would satisfy the Padishah. But all to no purpose. Jehangír was enchanted with the portrait. He would not look at the French picture. If Roe would only give him the portrait he would value it more than his best jewels. Roe was fairly wheedled out of the portrait; his disgust is sufficiently manifest in his journal. It was a hard fate which compelled the English ambassador to make over the portrait of his dead lady-love to the Great Moghul.

in a new vest, turban, and girdle, according to custom.[51] CHAPTER V.

Poisoning at court.

Roe could not dwell long at court without hearing something of palace scandals. Parwíz had been recalled from the Dekhan and sent to Bengal. Jehangír hesitated about recalling the Khan Khanán. The Khan Khanán was very powerful; if recalled he might rebel. Jehangír resolved to send him the dress of forgiveness. He told his intention to a kinswoman of the Khan Khanán, who was living in his own harem. She replied that the Khan Khanán would never wear the dress; he would think it was poisoned. "Twice," she said, "you have given him poison; each time he put it in his breast instead of eating it; each time he found it was poison." Jehangír made no denial; he offered to wear the dress for an hour to prove that it was not poisoned. The woman replied that the Khan Khanán would trust neither of them. So Jehangír resolved to go himself to the Dekhan. Khurrám was to go on to Burhanpur; Jehangír would follow as far as Mandu.[52]

Intrigues against Khuzru.

Another intrigue exploded. Khuzrú, the eldest son of Jehangír, had been placed in the charge of a Rajpoot prince named Anna Rai. Núr Mahal and Asof Khan were plotting the murder of Khuzru; they were still anxious to secure the succession for Khurram. One night when Jehangír was drunk, they persuaded him that Asof Khan would be a more suitable guardian for Khuzru than Anna Rai.

[51] In political phraseology he received a khillut, or dress of honour, in token of forgiveness. Roe's Journal, 9th and 10th October.

[52] This suggestive incident is recorded in Roe's Journal of the 10th October. It is omitted by Pinkerton. It will be found in Purchas and Kerr.

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That same night Asof Khan called upon Anna Rai in the name of the Padishah to surrender Khuzru. Anna Rai refused; he was warmly attached to Khuzru; he declared that Jehangír had placed Khuzru in his charge; he would surrender Khuzru to no one but Jehangír.

Weakness of Jehangír.

Next morning Anna Rai told Jehangír all that had occurred; he added that he would rather die than surrender Khuzru to his enemies. Jehangír praised the fidelity of Anna Rai to the skies; he told Anna Rai that he had done well; that Anna Rai was always to do as he had done. Within seven days afterwards Jehangír was again talked over by Núr Mahal. He commanded Anna Rai to make over Khuzru to Asof Khan. Probably the fidelity of Anna Rai to the cause of Khuzru had awakened suspicions in the mind of Jehangír.

Outcry in the harem.

Every one at court expected that Khuzru would be murdered to make room for Khurram. The sister of Khuzru, with other ladies in the harem, made a terrible outcry. They refused to eat; they threatened to burn themselves if Khuzru died. Jehangír protested that he meant no harm; no one believed him. He sent Núr Mahal to quiet them; the ladies cursed, threatened, and refused to see her.[53]

Roe's warning to the English Company.

Roe reported these facts as a warning. The East India Company was to beware of pushing its trade too far into the interior. A time was coming when all Hindustan would be in a ferment. If Khuzru prevailed the English would be gainers; the empire would become a sanctuary for Christians, whom he loved and honoured. If Khurram pre-

[53] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

vailed the English would be the losers; he hated Christians; he was proud, subtle, false, and tyrannical. How far Roe was correct in his surmises will be seen in the sequel.[54] CHAPTER V.

A Persian ambassador made a public entry into Ajmír. His name was Muhammad Riza Beg. Some pretended that he came to mediate a peace between Jehangír and the Sultans of the Dekhan. Others thought that he came to ask for help against the Great Turk. His retinue consisted of fifty horsemen, equipped in cloth of gold, armed with bows, quivers, and targets, richly garnished. There were also forty musketeers and two hundred foot-soldiers. In the afternoon Muhammad Riza Beg was received at the Durbar. He flattered Jehangír beyond all bounds. He made three prostrations before him; he knocked his head against the ground as though he would enter it. His presents, however, put Roe to shame. They comprised three times nine Arabian and Persian horses, nine large mules, seven camel loads of velvet, two suits of European hangings, one rich cabinet, forty muskets, five clocks, one camel loaded with Persian cloth of gold, eight carpets of silk, two rubies, twenty-one camel loads of grape wine, fourteen camel loads of rose-water, seven jewelled daggers, five jewelled swords, and seven Venetian looking-glasses.[55] Arrival of a Persian ambassador.

A few days afterwards there was a terrible scene at Durbar. Jehangír had given a feast to the Cruel scene at Durbar.

[54] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

[55] Roe's Journal, 19th and 20th October. The Persian ambassador came to negotiate for the surrender of Kandahar to Persia. Kandahar was for many years a bone of contention between Persia and the Moghul. The Shah of Persia is said to have helped Humáyun to recover his throne, on the condition that Kandahar was transferred to Persia.

CHAPTER V. Persian ambassador. He had commanded all present to drink wine. On these occasions the Bakhshi, or paymaster-general, officiated. Every man received his cup of wine from the Bakhshi; he then drank to the health of the Padishah; every name was taken down by the court writers, and entered in the register, according to the custom. Jehangír was so drunk that he forgot he had given the order. Next day some one alluded to the drinking. He asked who gave the order; he was told that the Bakhshi had given it. This was always the answer when Jehangír thought proper to forget his own orders. Jehangír was filled with wrath. He called for the register; he began to punish the offenders. Some were fined heavily. Others were flogged in the Durbar court. The flogging was most severe; some were left for dead. Jehangír ordered them to be kicked and battered. One died on the spot. Others were carried out bruised and mangled. The Persian ambassador got off scot-free. Not a man dared to speak a word in behalf of the sufferers.[56]

Preparations for camp: Khurram's adieu.

At last all things were prepared for going into camp. Khurram took leave of his father in the Durbar. He was dressed in cloth of silver embroidered with pearls and diamonds. His camp was four miles off. He was driven there in a coach which had been built like the English one. His chief men walked beside him on foot. All the way he scattered quarter rupees amongst the people.[57]

Jehangír at the Jharokha window.

Next morning Jehangír was to go into camp. Roe went to the palace very early. He saw Jehangír at the Jharokha window. Two eunuchs were fan-

[56] Roe's Journal, 26th October.

[57] Roe's Journal, 1st November.

ning him; he was giving and receiving favours. What he gave he let down with a string; what he received was pulled up by an old woman decked out with gimcracks like an idol. Two of his queens were sitting at a window behind a matting of reeds; they peeped at Roe between the reeds. Roe saw their fingers; then their faces; sometimes their whole figure. They were indifferently white; their black hair was smoothed up; they glittered with diamonds. They were both very merry at the sight of Roe. Presently Jehangír went away from the window followed by the queens.[58]

Gathering in the Durbar.

The nobles were now assembling in the Durbar court to await the coming of Jehangír. Roe joined them; he sat with them upon the carpet. Presently Jehangír appeared; he sat upon the throne for half-an-hour. Meanwhile the ladies of the harem were mounting their elephants. Fifty elephants were drawn up for their conveyance all richly adorned. Three had square towers on their backs, enclosed with curtains of gold wire; they were surmounted by canopies of cloth of silver.[59]

Jehangír's state departure.

At length Jehangír left the throne; he descended the stairs of the Durbar court. The acclamations were deafening; they outroared cannon. At the foot of the stairs one man brought a large carp; another brought a dish of white stuff like starch. Jehangír put his finger into the white stuff; touched the fish with it, and rubbed his forehead. This was a ceremony presaging good fortune.[60]

[58] Roe's Journal, 2nd November.

[59] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

[60] Roe's Journal, *ib.* It may have been a Hindú ceremony. The stuff like starch was probably the ashes of burnt cow-dung. The fish, however, is one of the insignia of the Great Moghul. The figure of a fish is sculptured above some of the buildings at Ajmír.

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Royal dress and arms.

Jehangír was arrayed in all his bravery. His coat was of cloth of gold without sleeves, worn over a shirt as fine as lawn. His buskins were embroidered with pearls. His turban was plumed with herons' feathers;[61] on one side was a ruby as big as a walnut; on the other side was a large diamond; in the centre was a large emerald, shaped like a heart. His sash was wreathed with a chain of pearls, rubies, and diamonds. His neck-chain consisted of three double strings of pearls. He wore armlets set with diamonds on his elbows; he had three rows of diamonds on his wrists; he had rings on nearly every finger. One man hung on his sword and buckler; both were beset with diamonds and rubies. Another man hung on his bow and quiver with thirty arrows.[62]

Procession to camp.

Thus accoutred Jehangír got into his coach. It was drawn by four horses with harness and trappings of gold velvets. It was made like the English coach, but covered with gold velvet. He had an English coachman as gaudy as a play-actor. Jehangír sat at one end of the coach. On each side were two eunuchs carrying gold maces set with rubies; also bunches of white horse tails to sweep away the flies. Before him went drums, trumpets, and other loud music, together with canopies, umbrellas, and other strange insignia. There were nine led horses; the furniture was studded with rubies, pearls, and emeralds. Three palanquins followed.

[61] Herons' feathers are held in great esteem by Turks as well as Moghuls. The Ottoman Porte wears, or used to wear, three plumes of black herons' feathers in his turban. When he made the Grand Vizier general of his army, he took one plume out of his own turban and placed it in the turban of the Grand Vizier. After this ceremony the army salutes the Grand Vizier, and acknowledges him for their general. Tavernier's Relation of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio, folio, page 3: London, 1677.

[62] Roe's Journal, 2nd November.

One was plated with gold set with pearls; it was covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearls; a fringe of pearls hung in ropes a foot deep, with a border of rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a golden footstool set with precious stones. The two other palanquins were covered with cloth of gold. Then followed the coach, which came from England; the English lining had been taken away; the coach was covered with gold velvet and decorations. Jehangír had given it to Núr Mahal, and Núr Mahal was riding inside it. The two younger sons of Jehangír followed in a country-built coach.[63] After them went twenty royal elephants, richly caparisoned. Every elephant carried flags of silver cloth, gilt satin, and taffaty. The nobles walked on foot. The ladies were carried on their elephants half-a-mile behind like parroquets in gilded cages.[64]

Guard of six hundred elephants.

This was the first day's march from the palace to the camp. All the way there was a guard of elephants, six hundred in number, covered with velvet or cloth of gold. Each elephant carried a gun and gunner in a square tower, with a flag at each corner. The road was watered to lay the dust. No man was allowed to come within a furlong of Jehangír's coach unless he walked on foot.[65]

Appearance of Khuzru.

At setting out there was a notable incident. Jehangír stopped at the door where his eldest son Khuzru was kept a prisoner; he called for him to come out. Khuzru appeared and made his reverence. He had a sword and buckler in his hand; his beard hung down to his waist, a sign of dis-

[63] The three elder sons of Jehangír were Khuzru, Parwíz, and Khurram. The two younger were Shahryár and Jahandar. Jahandar died young.

[64] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

[65] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

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favour. Jehangír commanded him to mount one of the spare elephants and ride beside him. He also gave Khuzru a thousand rupees to scatter amongst the people. Meantime Asof Khan, and all the other enemies of Khuzru, were obliged to walk on foot.[66]

Imperial pavilions.

Roe walked as far as the palace gate; he then mounted his horse and rode to the camp. The imperial pavilions were marvels of magnificence. They were enclosed by screens or walls of arras, half-a-mile in compass. The walls were shaped like a fortress with coignes and bulwarks; they were stretched between posts tipped with brass. The walls were bright red on the outside; inside they were painted with figures in panes. The gate at the entrance was very handsome. Roe was admitted into the first court. In the centre was the imperial throne of mother-of-pearl, set up in a lofty pavilion. Underfoot were carpets; overhead were canopies of cloth of gold.[67]

Jehangír bows to Roe.

Jehangír was driven in his coach to the gate-house; his ladies entered the harem by some back way. The nobles formed a lane at the gate-house. Jehangír walked between them. He cast his eye on Roe; the English ambassador made a reverence. Jehangír laid his hand upon his heart and bowed to Roe. He mounted the steps of the pavilion, called for water, washed his hands, and departed.[68]

The imperial camp.

The plan of the imperial camp corresponded generally to that of the imperial palace. It con-

[66] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

[67] Roe's Journal, *ib.* Roe says that the imperial enclosure was separated into thirty divisions, each having tents of its own. They included guard-rooms, stables, kitchens, servants'-rooms, store-rooms, work-shops, and a number of similar apartments.

[68] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

sisted of at least three square courts or quadrangles opening one into the other. The first was the Durbar court; the second comprised the Ghusal-khana and other pavilions; the third comprised the harem, and was called the Mahal. Akber and Jehangír slept in a two-storied apartment at one end of the harem; on the second story was the Jharokha window which looked out upon an open plain. The Padishah was served by women; his guards were Tartar women. Indeed, no one, save women and eunuchs, or sometimes the imperial princes, were permitted to proceed further into the palace than the Ghusal-khana.[69]

Pavilions of the grandees.

The nobles retired to their own pavilions. Roe began to look about him. The scene was magnificent. A beautiful city had sprung up in the valley; it covered an area of twenty miles; it was radiant with many colours. The imperial pavilions were red; those of the nobles were white, green, and mixed. All were encompassed by screens, and were as orderly as houses. There were also long streets of shops, like the bazaar of a metropolis. There was no confusion of any kind. Every day the vast camp was moved some miles further towards the south. There were double sets of pavilions; one camp was set up, whilst another was sent forward; the entire camp could be set up within four hours. The people of Ajmír had delayed joining it. Jehangír burnt down their houses, and forced them to take the field.[70]

[69] These arrangements bear a strange resemblance to those of Hindú courts in mythical times. The Hindú palaces consisted of a succession of quadrangles. The Hindú Rajas were guarded by amazons. Raja Dushyanta appears in the drama of Sakúntalá surrounded by a retinue of Yavana women. See *ante*, vol. iii. chap. 6.

[70] Roe's Journal, 2nd November and 9th December. This burning of huts

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Roe's interview with Khurram.

About this time Roe paid two visits to Khurram. At the first Khurram appeared distracted; Roe thought he had left his heart with Núr Mahal, or with one of her ladies. At the second visit Khurram gave him a cloak of cloth of gold. Roe was disgusted at being obliged to put it on. He says that it would have better become a play-actor in the part of Timúr the Tartar.[71]

Camp life.

Camp experiences, however, were not always pleasant. At one place a hundred thieves were executed in the fields. At another place Roe met some camels loaded with the heads of three hundred rebels who had been slaughtered in Kandahar. The life of the Moghul sovereign was not so public in camp as in the city. No one was allowed to come within pistol-shot of the imperial quarters. Jehangír sat every morning at the Jharokha window; no one was allowed to speak to him. The Durbar was no longer held; the time was spent in hunting and hawking. The Ghusal-khana was held in the evenings; it was only open to those who were specially named. Jehangír was often too drunk at the Ghusal-khana to do anything. One day Roe visited Jehangír. He found him talking to a Hindú mendicant, or Yogi. The holy man was clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, and covered with ashes. Jehangír embraced the Yogi, made him sit in his presence, gave him a hundred rupees, and called him father.[72]

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was not so cruel as it appears. The huts were probably of small value. Such huts were always abandoned when the court went into camp. The so-called people of Ajmír were nothing more than the host of servants and camp followers of every description, who depended for their subsistence upon the court, and yet were reluctant to leave their huts.

[71] Roe's Journal, 5th November.

[72] Roe's Journal, 18th to 23rd December. The little incident of the Yogi suffices to show the Hindú proclivities of Jehangír.

The regularity and order of camp arrangements soon disappeared. The camp moved through Rajpootana, which was only half conquered. The country was full of robbers. The road sometimes lay through forests and mountains. Thousands of camels were left in the jungle without food or water. Thousands of coaches and carts were lost in the woods. Many of the ladies of the harem were left behind without provisions. Jehangír made his way on a small elephant, which climbed over rocks where no other beast could follow. At one town the inhabitants had fled to the mountains; Jehangír burnt it down. In revenge the Rajpoots robbed and murdered a body of stragglers. At another place the encampment was laid out on the top of a hill where there was no water. In general Jehangír and his nobles were well supplied. The soldiers and poor people were often in want of the commonest necessaries.[73]

Robberies, murders, and privations.

Before Jehangír went into camp, he had been assured by Núr Mahal and Asof Khan that the Sultans of the Dekhan would submit at his approach. The Sultans did nothing of the kind. Shíahs united with Sunnís to resist the Moghul. They marched an army towards the frontier; they prepared to do battle. Núr Mahal was frightened; she implored Jehangír to turn the movement into a hunting expedition, and to go back to Agra. Jehangír refused; his honour was at stake. He kept sending on reinforcements to Khurram. At last, in February, 1617, nearly four months after leaving Ajmír, Jehangír encamped near the city of Ujain.[74]

March to Ujain: alarm of the court.

[73] Roe's Journal, 23rd to 26th December.

[74] Roe's Journal, January and February, 1617.

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Departure of the Persian ambassador: his sorrows.

Roe's adventures at this period are of some interest. He paid a visit to the Persian ambassador; the Persian won his sympathies by railing at the Moghul court and all the officials. Shortly afterwards the ambassador returned to Persia in high dudgeon. His negotiations had failed. The return presents were wretchedly mean. He had presented Jehangír with thirty-five horses; in return he had received only three thousand rupees. Jehangír tried to justify himself. He caused two lists to be made. On one list the Persian presents were entered and undervalued; on the other list the Moghul presents were entered and overvalued. The meanest things were written down in the Moghul list, such as melons, pine-apples, and plantains. Still there was a balance in favour of Persia; it was offered the ambassador in money. Muhammad Riza Beg went away utterly disgusted; he feigned sickness rather than take leave of Asof Khan.[75]

Roe meets Khuzru.

Another day Roe fell in with Khuzru. The prince was mounted on an elephant; he passed by whilst Roe was sitting under a tree. He asked Roe some civil questions, and then went away. He knew nothing of what was going on at court. To Roe's great surprise he had never heard of the English, or of their ambassador.[76]

Wrath about the presents.

Meanwhile Roe was much angered by the Moghul authorities. Jehangír had solemnly promised that the new presents coming out from England should neither be stopped nor opened. Khurram had stopped them. Jehangír had sent for the boxes. Khurram despatched them to Ujain. Jehangír then

[75] Roe's Journal, 1st January and 30th April.

[76] Roe's Journal, 3rd February.

opened them himself; he helped himself to everything he liked, including many things not intended for him. Roe went to the Ghusal-khana to complain. Jehangír said that everything should be made good; he would make it all right with the King of England. Roe got no redress. Jehangír became very drunk. He kept on saying that he was the protector of Christians, Mussulmans, and Jews. Then he wept and fell into various passions. He kept them up in the Ghusal-khana until midnight.[77]

Núr Mahal intrigues against Khurram.

In March the imperial camp reached the famous fortress of Mandu. Another intrigue came to light. Núr Mahal had a daughter by her first husband. She was ambitious for this daughter; she ceased to care for her niece, Mumtaz Mahal, who had married Khurram. A suggestive event filled her with wrath. Khurram had become reconciled to the Khan Khanán; he had married a granddaughter of the Khan Khanán. Núr Mahal was furious at the marriage. She plotted the downfall of Khurram; she reconciled Jehangír to Khuzru; she resolved to marry her daughter to Khuzru.[78]

Triumph of Khurram.

Khurram was still the favourite of fortune. He was triumphant in the Dekhan. His success was due to intrigues rather than to fighting. The Sultans of Bíjápur and Golconda grew jealous of Malik Amber; they were Shíahs and he was a Sunní; they naturally deserted his cause. Khurram defeated Malik Amber and captured Ahmadnagar. He went back to Mandu flushed with victory; he was warmly welcomed by Jehangír. He received the title of

[77] Roe's Journal, 11th March, 1617.

[78] Roe's Journal, *passim*.

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Mystery and romance.

There is mystery and romance about Khuzru. There is a mystery as to the part he played in the history of the time. To all appearance he had been the pet of Akber, the idol of the Rajpoots. His attachment to Christianity and Christians is very remarkable. His marriage is a romance. He was married to one wife. She was the daughter of a Mussulman of high standing, a foster-brother of Akber; he was named Khan-i-Azam. This man was a type of a class. He had been so strict a Mussulman that he went to Mecca to escape from the innovations of Akber. Mecca shook his faith in Islam, just as Rome has sometimes shaken the faith of a Catholic. He returned to India and became a member of the Divine Faith.[80] It may be inferred that his daughter inherited his nature. Nothing is known beyond the fact that Khuzru was devoted to her; for her sake he refused to marry the daughter of Núr Mahal. By doing so he might have saved his life and gained the throne. It is said that his wife entreated him to marry Núr Mahal's daughter; but he was firm in his devotion to her.[81]

Roe hated as an informer.

About this period Roe was losing ground. He could get no treaty. He was growing unpopular. His complaints against provincial governors raised

[79] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

[80] Khañ-i-Azam was one of Akber's Amírs. He is No. 21 on the list of Abul Fazl. Mr Blockmann has furnished full particulars respecting him. See Aín-i-Akbari, page 325, et seq.

[81] See Cafrou's history of the Moghul Dynasty. Other grounds for Khuzru's refusal are stated; they were of less weight; they involve contradictions which cannot easily be reconciled.

up enemies. Roe was conscious of this; he explains the causes. The viceroys and governors dreaded lest Jehangír should discover their oppressions and exactions. They farmed out the revenues of the empire. They were tyrannical towards the Hindús. They hanged men up by the heels until they paid fine or ransom.[82] Accordingly they regarded Roe as an informer.[83]

Moghuls frightened by the English.

Strange to say, the English at this early period were alarming the Moghuls. They displayed that contempt for Asiatics which is an instinct of the race. Some sailor musketeers were landed near Surat. The jolly mariners declared that they were going to take the fortress. The threat was absurd; but the Moghuls were terribly frightened.[84] It was reported to court; the fortress was strengthened. Flying rumours went abroad that the English had taken Goa; that a great fleet was coming out from England. Jehangír was afraid that Roe

[82] The statements of Roe are confirmed by every succeeding traveller. They show the character of Moghul rule. Above all, they show the vast difference between Europeans and Hindús. If an Englishman is oppressed, a hundred of his fellow-countrymen will step out to protect him. If a Hindú is oppressed, other Hindús look listlessly on; not a man will move.

[83] Roe's Journal, *ib.*

[84] Differences of race are important elements in the history of India. The fact cannot be denied that the European is far stronger than the Asiatic in mind and body. It was obvious to the Moghuls from the day that Englishmen first landed in India. No statesmanship can imbue the natives of India with the instincts of Englishmen; no statesmanship can imbue the Bengalee with the instincts of Rajpoots. In time the Hindús may become stronger; but the climate is against them. The Europeans are strong so long as they are recruited from Europe, and are in frequent intercourse with Europe. If they remain too long in India, they become effeminate and Hinduised. The natives of India can only become strong by frequent intercourse with Europe. One fact, however, cannot be repeated too often. So long as the natives of India are married as children to girls who are shut up from their childhood, their descendants will be little better than children. They would be worn out by the political life which is as necessary to Europeans as the air they breathe. No education will prepare them for the exercise of political power; it may enable Hindús to talk like men; it will not prevent them from thinking and acting like children.

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wanted to steal away. Gradually the alarm died out; matters returned to their old footing.[85]

English restored to favour.

Suddenly the English were in great favour. The queen mother was returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca; her ship was captured by English pirates; she was rescued by the East India Company's fleet. The grandees at court complimented Roe; they also wondered that the King of England should permit his subjects to turn pirates.[86]

Roe bribes Asof Khan: leaves India, 1618.

About the same time Roe managed to bribe Asof Khan with a large pearl. It worked like magic. Asof Khan stirred himself to befriend the English. All debts due to the English were paid up without difficulty. All the nobles were eager to buy English goods. The whole investment was sold at once; treble the stock might have been sold. In time the zeal of Asof Khan cooled down; still the Moghuls and English were better friends. Things were thus drifting on when the career of Roe drew to a close. In 1618 Roe left India for Persia; henceforth he disappears from the history of India.[87]

Moghul administration.

It is possible to get some glimpses of the state of Hindustan during the reign of Jehangír. Roe denounced the Moghul administration in strong

[85] This anecdote is omitted by Kerr and Pinkerton. It is preserved by Purchas. See chapter viii., Calcutta reprint.

[86] Roe's Journal, 5th October, 1617.

[87] Roe's Journal, *ib.* Roe became famous a few years later as ambassador to the Sultan of Turkey.

It is curious to note from Roe's Journal that even at this early period the East India Company was harassed by projectors. One set wanted to promote the sale of English lead by laying down water-works at Agra. Another set wanted to divert the trade between India and Persia from the land route viâ Kábul to the sea route viâ the Indus and Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf. Roe observes that such schemes were likely to prove more profitable to the projectors than to the East India Company.

language; he was so bitter that some may consider he was prejudiced. The evidence of Jehangír as regards his own administration may be accepted as undeniable. After Roe left India Jehangír went to Guzerat; subsequently he visited Ujain and Agra; he then returned to Delhi. His observations on the country and people may be summed up in a few words:—

Confessions of Jehangír.

"Guzerat," says Jehangír, "is infested with thieves and vagabonds. I have occasionally executed two or three hundred in one day; I could not suppress the brigandage. The province is hemmed round with forests. Twenty thousand pioneers cut a way through with saws and hatchets. On my return from Guzerat I visited Ujain. A Moghul at Ujain had been convicted of inviting females to his gardens, making them drunk, strangling them, and stripping them of their jewels. His house was searched; seven hundred sets of female ornaments were discovered there; I ordered him to be torn piece-meal with hot pincers. From Ujain I went to Agra. Here I became reconciled to Khuzru through the intervention of my son Parwíz. I left Agra for Delhi. At Delhi I heard of a rebellion in Kanouj. I sent a force to put it down. Thirty thousand rebels were slain; ten thousand heads were sent to Delhi; ten thousand bodies were hung on trees with their heads downwards along the several highways. Notwithstanding frequent massacres there are almost constant rebellions in Hindustan. There is not a province in the empire in which half a million of people have not been slaughtered during my own reign and that of my father. Ever and anon some accursed miscreant springs up to unfurl the standard

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of rebellion. In Hindustan there never has existed a period of complete repose." [88]

Moghul wars against Hindú peasantry.

This horrible state of things was not an episode in the reign of Jehangír; it began in the reign of Akber; it lasted for a century longer. Manouchi confirms the testimony of Jehangír. He wrote at the latter end of the seventeenth century. His account is based partly on the Moghul chronicles; partly on his personal experience during a life of forty-eight years in India. His evidence is to the following effect:—"The war against the rebellious peasants gave more trouble to Akber than all his wars against the Rajas. The peasants were entrenched in inaccessible forests; they were familiar with the paths; they burst forth in bands to burn and pillage villages. When taken by surprise, they fortified themselves amidst ruined habitations. They fought with carabines. When attacked they discharged their carabines at the distance of half a musket-shot. Their wives reloaded their carabines. When their ammunition was exhausted, they fought with bows and javelins. The war against the peasants began in the reign of Akber; it is not yet over; to this day the wretches are beheaded whenever they are found in the villages carrying arms. Nothing is more common than for travellers to find heads hung upon the trees, or fixed upon poles, along the great roads. These robbers are to be known by their shaven chins; their long mustachios which reach to the ears. They are dispersed amongst all the villages between Agra and Delhi." [89]

[88] Jehangír's Memoirs of Himself; translated by Major Price, pages 117 to 128: London, 1829. The language of Jehangir is a reflex of his detestable character.

[89] Catrou's History of the Moghul Dynasty in India, founded on the Memoirs of Manouchi, page 97: London, 1826.

Summer and winter migrations: reign ends in tragedy.

Jehangír reigned nine years after Roe's departure. His further movements are of little moment in history. After some wanderings he proceeded to Lahore. He made Lahore his head quarters; he spent the hot months of every year amongst the cool mountains of Kashmír. The history of his reign is a record of intrigue, treachery, and murder. It has no parallel except in oriental annals. Horrible as it will appear, it is confirmed by the fact that the current of affairs in Persia was equally marked by perfidy and blood.

Actors in the tragedy.

The chief actors in the tragedy are easily realized. Jehangír was the indolent and self-indulgent sovereign. Núr Mahal was the jealous and vindictive queen. Khuzru was the heir-apparent; he was heir to nothing but misfortune; he was helpless and out of favour. Parwíz was a drunkard; he played a small part in the drama; he died before it was over. Shah Jehan was still in favour with Jehangír; he was hated by Núr Mahal; he was ready to commit any crime that would clear his way to the throne.

Núr Mahal's daughter.

Núr Mahal had betrothed her daughter to Shahryár, the fourth and youngest son of Jehangír. She had thus become the natural enemy of Khuzru, Parwíz, and Shah Jehan. Henceforth she plotted their destruction; they stood between Shahryár and the throne. Doubtless she anticipated the death of Jehangír; she aspired to reign after him in the name of Shahryár.

Breach between Núr Mahal and Asof Khan.

There was a breach between Núr Mahal and her brother Asof Khan; they were plotting for different ends. Núr Mahal was working for her son-in-law Shahryár. Asof Khan was working for his son-in-law Shah Jehan.

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The Khan Khanán.

Two men appear upon the stage as types of classes. They were known as the Khan Khanán and Mahábat Khan. The Khan Khanán was a Moghul.[90] He had long been notorious for treachery and corruption whilst commanding the army in the Dekhan. He had made his peace with Shah Jehan by giving him a daughter in marriage. He had become the staunch ally of Shah Jehan; but he was false and treacherous like all Moghuls; it was easy to foresee that he would desert his own son-in-law if it served his ends.

Mahábat Khan, the Rajpoot.

Mahábat Khan was a Rajpoot; he commanded Rajpoots; he showed himself on all occasions to be a Rajpoot. His loyalty to Jehangír under the strongest provocations was an instinct in his Rajpoot nature. It shows the marked superiority of the Rajpoot to the Moghul.[91]

War in the Dekhan.

The first tragedy was the murder of Khuzru. The war in the Dekhan broke out afresh. Shah Jehan was ordered to return to Burhanpur; he still had reason to fear Khuzru; he refused to leave the court unless he took Khuzru with him. Núr Mahal raised no objection; if Khuzru was murdered, Shahryár would be rid of another rival. Shah Jehan proceeded to the Dekhan accompanied by

[90] This is the same man who has already appeared in history in the reigns of Jehangír and Akber. He was a son of Bairam Khan. Khan Khanán is not a name. It is the title of the commander-in-chief.

[91] Herbert says that Mahábat Khan was a Rajpoot. Jehangír, in his Autobiography, says that he was an Afghan. He must refer to some other Mahábat Khan. Mahábat Khan commanded Rajpoots; the Rajpoots would obey no one but their own Raja. Mahábat Khan was viceroy of Kábul; no Afghan would be appointed viceroy of Kábul. Jehangír was likely to follow the example of Akber; to appoint Mahábat Khan to be viceroy of Kábul, and to keep down the Afghans by an army of Rajpoots. Tod clears up the difficulty. Mahábat Khan was a Rajpoot of the family of the Rana of Chitór. He had been converted to the Mussulman religion. Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. page 42 *note*.

his eldest brother under guard. He was also accompanied by his father-in-law the Khán Khanán. CHAPTER V.

Murder of Khuzru.

The details of the war in the Dekhan are of small importance. Shah Jehan fixed his head-quarters at Burhanpur; he soon reduced Malik Amber to submission. Suddenly the news reached Burhanpur that Jehangír was dying. Tidings that the Padishah was dead or dying always created a ferment. If Jehangír died, Khuzru would have succeeded to the throne. Shah Jehan had thus the strongest motives for getting rid of Khuzru. He feigned sickness; he left Burhanpur; in his absence Khuzru was strangled in the night by one of the officers of the Khan Khanán. Next morning the wife of Khuzru entered the chamber; she saw that her husband had been strangled; she shrieked, tore her hair, and proclaimed the murder. Shah Jehan returned to Burhanpur; he affected deep sorrow. Every one in Burhanpur suspected him of the murder; they all cursed him as the prime mover in the crime.[92]

Jehangír suspects Shah Jehan: appoints Buláki to be crown prince.

Jehangír had by this time recovered of his sickness. He guessed at once that Khuzru had been murdered by Shah Jehan. He sent for the widow and her son Buláki. He gave Buláki the rank of Ten thousand horse. He declared Buláki to be his successor to the empire. The crime that was to have placed Shah Jehan upon the throne only led to the elevation of Buláki.

Núr Mahal checkmated.

Núr Mahal must have been confounded by the

[92] See Herbert's Travels, folio, pages 79 et seq. London, 1635. Herbert travelled in India in 1626; he was thus a contemporary of the events he describes. He was an English gentleman of good family. His statements are confirmed by Father Catrou. He is the main authority for the remainder of the history of the reign of Jehangír.

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nomination of Buláki. He was only a child; possibly she purposed to get rid of him on a future day. Meanwhile she was bent on the ruin of Shah Jehan. She plotted to get Shah Jehan out of the Dekhan. The Persians had taken possession of Kandahar. Shah Jehan was ordered to proceed to the north-west and drive the Persians out of Kandahar. He pretended that he could not leave the Dekhan. He was soon out-manœuvred. The command of the expedition to Kandahar was given to Shahryár. Shah Jehan was ordered to send the greater part of his army to Shahryár. The leading officers in his army were ordered to leave him and join the camp of Shahryár.

Plot of Asof Khan and Shah Jehan.

Shah Jehan's affairs were desperate; there was no fighting against Núr Mahal. He had some hope of Asof Khan; he had married Asof Khán's daughter. Asof Khan was secretly working in his favour. A plot was hatched of startling audacity. Asof Khan formed a plan for getting possession of the vast treasures at Agra. Had it been successful Shah Jehan could have bought over all the officers in Jehangír's army. They would have rushed to his standard directly they heard that he had got the gold. The plot very nearly succeeded. Asof Khan persuaded Jehangír to move the treasures from Agra to Lahore. Shah Jehan was to capture the treasure on the road. He was ambitious, greedy, and revengeful; he had no scruple about robbing his father; the plot suited every passion in his nature. He at once prepared to play his part in the scheme.

Failure.

Asof Khan carried Jehangír's order to Agra. The treasurer at Agra was suspicious of the order;

he objected to the cost and danger of carriage; he was overruled by Asof Khan. The camels were loaded; they were about to leave the fortress. Suddenly the treasurer heard that Shah Jehan was coming up from the Dekhan by forced marches. He saw through the plot in a moment. He unloaded the camels; he reported the coming of Shah Jehan to Jehangír. When Shah Jehan came up, the treasure was safely lodged in the fortress. He tried in vain to capture the fortress. He wasted three weeks in the attempt. Then he heard that Jehangír had left Lahore and was marching towards Delhi. He had no alternative but to fight against his father. CHAPTER V.

Indignation of Jehangir.

Jehangír had been roused from his lethargy. The plot to rob him of his treasures fell upon him like a thunderbolt. He summoned forces from the extremities of his empire; from Mahábat Khan, viceroy of Kábul; from Parwíz, viceroy of Bengal. He marched from Lahore to Delhi to fight against his son. The two armies met near Delhi. The battle raged after the manner of Asiatic battles. For some time the victory was with Shah Jehan. A rebel Raja in his army cut his way to Jehangír's camp; he seized Jehangír as his prisoner; he was beaten down by a battle-axe; he died with a curse upon his lips. The Rajpoots round him were seized with a panic. Shah Jehan shouted and threatened in vain; Rajpoots obey no one but their Raja. They rushed from the field; the whole of the rebel army followed. All was lost. Shah Jehan galloped off to the south; he escaped with a few horsemen to the mountains of Mewát.[93]

[93] The plot of Asof Khan and Shah Jehan to seize the treasure at Agra is

CHAPTER V.

Vacillation of Shah Jehan.

Asiatic movements are often a riddle. They defy all calculation; they are a series of startling surprises. Within a few weeks of the battle Shah Jehan was reconciled to Jehangír. Shah Jehan humbled himself to the dust; implored forgiveness; took a solemn oath never to rebel again. In the end Jehangír forgave him; within a few months he broke out in another rebellion.

Rebellion.

Jealousy was at the bottom of the second rebellion. Jehangír had treated Parwíz with great favour; he had appointed Mahábat Khan the Rajpoot to the command of the army.[94] Shah Jehan revolted out of jealousy of Parwíz; the Khan Khanán joined him out of jealousy of Mahábat Khan. Parwíz and Mahábat Khan marched against the rebels. Shah Jehan and the Khan Khanán retreated southward towards Burhanpur. The Khan Khanán played a new game of treachery; he tried to save himself by betraying Shah Jehan. The plot was discovered; the Khan Khanán openly deserted to the army of Parwíz and Mahábat Khan; Shah Jehan was forced to fly out of the empire.

Shah Jehan ravages Bengal.

The disappearance of Shah Jehan was a mystery. Nothing was heard of him for months. Suddenly he turned up in Bengal. He had gone across India from Burhanpur eastward to the Telinga country; he had then pushed northwards

one of the most suggestive events in the history of Moghul India. Strange to say, it has been ignored by modern historians. Few accounts, however, can be better authenticated. The story is told by Herbert, who was in India very shortly afterwards. It was also told in the Moghul chronicle on which Manouchi based his memoirs. Its historical significance is undoubted. Nothing could better show the lawlessness of men's minds under Moghul rule.

[94] Mahábat Khan is said to have been appointed to the post of Khan Khanán. The statement is perplexing. The Rajpoot could only command Rajpoots; the Moghul could only command Moghuls. Possibly a Rajpoot army was sent to take the place of the Moghul army.

through Orissa into Bengal. His march resembled the flying raids of Ala-ud-dín and Malik Kafúr. He appeared before Dacca, the new capital of Bengal. The viceroy of Bengal was taken by surprise; he was seized with a panic; he fled in hot haste from Dacca to Benares. Shah Jehan ravaged all Bengal; he pillaged towns and villages; he robbed the inhabitants of their money and jewels; he committed outrages which rendered his army a terror.

Defeat of Shah Jehan.

The imperial army under Parwíz and Mahábat Khan was soon on the move. It advanced from the Dekhan in a northerly direction towards Allahabad; it then moved in an easterly direction towards Benares. A battle was fought near Benares. The old antagonism was working mischief in both armies. The Mussulmans were jealous of the Rajpoots. Shah Jehan very nearly routed his enemies. His Rajpoots had gained the victory; but his Mussulmans hung back. The Rajpoots were unsupported; they were soon beaten. The whole of the rebel army turned tail and fled. Shah Jehan saw that fate was still against him. He struck the ground with his lance; he left his camp to be plundered; he galloped off to the south with four thousand horsemen, to seek once more for refuge in the Dekhan.

Antagonism between Mussulman and Rajpoot.

The antagonism between Mussulman and Rajpoot was beginning to rend the empire. Akber had kept the peace between the two; he had played one against the other; he had maintained a balance of power in the body politic. Before he died signs of a rupture were already manifest. The Mussulman party supported the revolt of Jehangír; the Rajpoot party favoured the succession of Khuzru.

CHAPTER V. Jehangír had no policy; he was driven along by his temper or by Núr Mahal. Before his accession the Rajpoots had angered him by fighting against him. After his accession he had favoured the Mussulmans. After the revolt of Khuzru he leaned somewhat towards the Rajpoots. He wavered to and fro; he trimmed between the two; his trimming saved the empire.

Division in the imperial army.

The imperial army was divided like the rebel army. Mahábat Khan was a Rajpoot. Parwíz was a Mussulman. There was a traitor in the camp; the Khan Khanán was playing his old game of treachery; like a true Moghul he plotted against the Rajpoot. Mahábat Khan discovered his intrigues; he placed the Khan Khanán under arrest. The Khan Khanán was still at work. He kindled the jealousy of Parwíz against Mahábat Khan. Meantime Núr Mahal and Asof Khan were plotting against Mahábat Khan. The storm soon burst upon the Rajpoot general. Jehangír ordered the Khan Khanán to be sent to Lahore. Shortly afterwards he deprived Mahábat Khan of his command; he appointed an Afghan named Khan Jehan to command in the room of Mahábat Khan. The appointment is the key to Jehangír's policy. His father Akber had gained his ends by pitting the Rajpoots against the Afghans. Jehangír adopted the dangerous idea of pitting the Afghans against the Rajpoots. The outcome of this policy will be seen in the next reign.

Mahábat Khan appeals to Jehangír.

Mahábat Khan was well-nigh broken-hearted. He knew that Jehangír was an old dotard; he knew that Núr Mahal and the Khan Khanán had worked his ruin. He retired to a fortress of his own; he would wait until time proved his innocence. But

Núr Mahal stung him with further insults; she ordered him to quit his fortress and go to Orissa. In desperation he raised a force of five thousand Rajpoots. He resolved to go to Lahore and make his own defence to Jehangír. CHAPTER V.

Núr Mahal and Asof Khan were kept informed of every movement. They feared the Rajpoots; they feared that Mahábat Khan would ingratiate himself with Jehangír. They induced Jehangír to order Mahábat Khan to come alone and answer for his infamy. Mahábat Khan saw through their craft. He had married his daughter to a young noble; he sent the bridegroom to make his excuse and treat on surer terms. Núr Mahal kept the matter secret from Jehangír. She issued her own orders; they were the expression of a vindictiveness at once feminine and oriental. When Mahábat Khan's son-in-law entered the imperial camp, he was forced to dismount from his elephants, to disrobe himself of his bravery, to clothe himself in filthy rags. He was then cruelly beaten with rattans, set backwards on a lean horse, and conducted bare-headed through the imperial army. Núr Mahal insults Mahábat Khan.

Mahábat Khan was furious at the insult; still he retained his self-constraint. He knew that Núr Mahal was alone to blame; indeed, the whole country was incensed at her. He took measures accordingly. The imperial army had left Lahore and was proceeding to Kábul. It was crossing the river Jhelum by a bridge of boats. At daybreak most of the troops had gone over. Jehangír was still sleeping. Suddenly Mahábat Khan surrounded his tents with Rajpoots and carried him off prisoner. Revenge of Mahábat Khan.

The confusion that followed beggars description.

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Jehangír a prisoner.

Jehangír was helpless; he was mounted on an elephant and guarded with Rajpoots; otherwise he was treated with the respect due to the Padishah. At heart he was glad to be rid of Núr Mahal and Asof Khan; he said as much to Mahábat Khan; what sorrows he had he drowned in wine and opium. Núr Mahal was like a tigress robbed of her prey. She had crossed the river, but re-crossed it. She made a desperate effort to recover Jehangír; there was no standing against the Rajpoots. In the end she was taken prisoner with her brother Asof Khan.

Mahábat Khan deluded.

Meantime the authority of Mahábat Khan was supreme; the whole army obeyed him. He was no rebel; he meant no harm to Jehangír; he sought to clear his honour and be revenged on Núr Mahal. The death of Núr Mahal was becoming a state necessity; she had engulfed the empire. The monster multitude exclaimed against her; Mahábat Khan and many of the nobles assented to her execution. She had one resource left; she craved permission to take farewell of Jehangír. She was reluctantly admitted; she won over Jehangír; he implored Mahábat Khan to release her. Mahábat Khan could not disobey. He had been gulled into the belief that Jehangír would never leave him. Probably he hesitated to take the life of a woman.

Escape of Núr Mahal and Jehangír.

Núr Mahal regained her liberty; she found intrigues ready to her hand. The antagonism between Mussulman and Rajpoot was growing fiercer day by day. It led to treacheries, brawls, and murders. She emptied the coffers of Jehangír; she raised an army to fight against the Rajpoots; she formed a strong league of Moghuls and Afghans against the

Rajpoots. The history is very obscure; the action of the Moghuls is uncertain; to all appearance Núr Mahal was working the Afghans against the Rajpoots. At this crisis Jehangír fled from Mahábat Khan and joined the army of Núr Mahal. CHAPTER V.

Mahábat Khan was taken aback. He had been befooled by Jehangír; he soon found that Jehangír was still the slave of Núr Mahal. He received a peremptory order from Jehangír to release Asof Khan. He obeyed, but obedience availed him nothing. Núr Mahal set all his enemies against him. Parwíz died at this time, or he would have joined Parwíz. He fled to the Rana of Udaipur; Jehangír demanded his surrender. In this extremity Mahábat Khan baffled all his enemies; he marched off to the Dekhan; he joined his forces to those of Shah Jehan. Mahábat Khan joins Shah Jehan.

Amidst this round of intrigues and treacheries Jehangír was sinking to his grave. He was sixty years of age. He had gone to Kashmír in the hot months of 1627; asthma forced him to return. Death overtook him on the way. He again nominated Buláki to succeed him on the throne. He died on the twelfth of October, 1627. Death of Jehangír, 1627.

The power of Núr Mahal was gone in a moment. It was based upon the doting fondness of Jehangír; it vanished with his last breath. She had no genius, no policy. She was guided only by a vindictive temper which shut her eyes to consequences. She blindly espoused the cause of Shahryár. She blindly drove Mahábat Khan into the arms of Shah Jehan. Possibly there were springs of action in her feminine nature which are hidden from the historian. Roe hints at an early amour between Núr Mahal and Fall of Núr Mahal: coronation of Buláki.

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Shah Jehan. Herbert says more distinctly that she would have had an amour with the son of Mahábat Khan, but for her hatred towards the father. Shahryár was a fool; possibly she had a passion for Shahryár. She was suspected of having poisoned Parwíz and Jehangír. On the death of Jehangír, she sent Shahryár with a body of horse to secure Lahore. Meantime she was suspected of plotting against the lives of Buláki, and her own brother Asof Khan. The result was that the army turned against her. Buláki was enthroned at Delhi; Asof Khan carried him in triumph to Lahore. Shahryár hazarded a battle; he was betrayed by his own captains; he was taken prisoner and confined in the fortress of Lahore. He was deprived of his eyes, and would have been deprived of his life, but for the intercession of Buláki.

Short reign of Buláki, 1627-8.

For a brief period Buláki was emperor of Hindustan. An army was sent against Núr Mahal. There was treachery in her camp; her troubles had crushed her spirit. She dismissed her guard and threw herself on the mercy of Buláki. The young Padishah assured her of safety and protection. Throughout his short reign of three months she was treated with every respect and consideration. Buláki moved his court to Agra; he was accompanied by Asof Khan; the object was to be nearer Shah Jehan; to compel Shah Jehan to tender his submission.

Pretended funeral of Shah Jehan, 1628.

Meantime there was an under current of intrigue in favour of Shah Jehan. Asof Khan had been forced to place Buláki upon the throne; no other measure would have pacified the army and checkmated Núr Mahal. A plot was laid which could only occur to an oriental. It was given out

that Shah Jehan was dangerously ill; next that he was dead. Buláki was requested to permit Shah Jehan to be buried in the tomb of Akber. Nothing could have been more gratifying to Buláki than the burial of his rival. Mahábat Khan conducted an empty bier in sad procession to Agra. He was accompanied by a thousand of Shah Jehan's best officers. He was followed by Shah Jehan in disguise. He was joined on the way by squadrons of Rajpoots, as if to do honour to the ceremony. Buláki was persuaded to go out with a small escort to conduct his uncle's remains to the tomb of Akber. When he saw the vast procession he was frightened; he suspected a plot; he stole away to Lahore. The trumpets were sounded; Shah Jehan was proclaimed Padishah. He entered the fortress in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people and army. In a moment Buláki was forgotten; in the same moment Shah Jehan began to reign.[95]

Shah Jehan gains the throne: massacre.

There was no one left to oppose Shah Jehan excepting the princes who had taken refuge in the fortress at Lahore. The same villain that murdered Khuzru at Burhanpur was employed to murder the princes at Lahore. The tale of slaughter is hideous. Buláki and Shahryár were strangled.[96] Two sons of Danyál, two sons of Murád, and two sons of Parwíz,

[95] The story of the pretended funeral of Shah Jehan is told by Tavernier. It is confirmed by Catrou.

[96] Herbert's Travels. Catrou tells the story differently. The death of Buláki is a mystery. Some authorities say he was killed; others, that he escaped into Persia. A man, calling himself Buláki, certainly escaped into Persia; the Duke of Holstein's ambassadors saw him there in 1637. At that time ambassadors from Shah Jehan to the Shah of Persia were demanding the surrender of the exile. The Shah refused to surrender him. To this day it is a question whether the fugitive was the real Buláki or an impostor; either way he would be dangerous to Shah Jehan. See "Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors," by Adam Olearius, Secretary to the Embassy. Folio: London, 1669.

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were murdered in like manner. Their bodies were buried in a garden at Lahore; their heads were sent to the new Padishah. In this manner Shah Jehan waded through a sea of blood to the throne of Hindustan.[97]

[97] The main authorities for the history of the closing years of the reign of Jehangir are Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels in India and Father Catrou's work on the Moghul sovereigns. The chronology is somewhat loose; there are conflicting statements as regards some of the dates. This difficulty is still greater in dealing with the reign of Shah Jehan. Fortunately no question of importance is involved. It is therefore considered unnecessary to trouble the reader with dates; they do not help the story; they only involve long disquisitions.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MOGHUL EMPIRE: SHAH JEHAN.

A. D. 1628 TO 1658.

The character of Shah Jehan: his political situation.

SHAH JEHAN was thirty-seven years of age when he was proclaimed Padishah. He had been scheming for the throne from his boyhood. He had no political genius, no manly ambition, no administrative capacity. He wanted to be sovereign; to be courted, flattered, and admired; to gratify every whim and passion. He was intriguing and unscrupulous; his character was a hindrance to his success; no one trusted him. He gained the throne by sheer force of circumstances.[1] Every one hated Núr Mahal. There was no one but Shah Jehan who could suppress Núr Mahal. Buláki would have been ruined by her; Shahryár would have been a puppet in her hands. She had made a deadly enemy of Shah Jehan; he could keep her encaged for life. From the moment Shah Jehan obtained the throne, nothing further is known of Núr Mahal.

Shah Jehan had no more religion than Jehangír. At first he leaned towards the Mussulmans; he made

[1] Asiatics ascribe the good fortune of Shah Jehan to the influence of the stars. He is known as the lord of the happy conjunction of Jupiter and Venus. In modern times there have only been three lords of this conjunction:—Timúr, Shah Jehan, and Nadir Shah.

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Leans to Islam hates Christianity.

some concessions to Mussulman prejudices. He abolished the solar year which had been introduced by Akber; he restored the lunar year of Islam. He forbade the prostrations before the throne which had scandalized Mussulmans in the reigns of Akber and Jehangír.[2] He spit his hatred against Christians and Christianity. He made war upon the Portuguese at Hugli. He soon returned to the old Moghul groove. His Hindú blood began to show itself. In the end he became more Hinduized than Akber.

Influence of Mumtaz Mahal.

The Mussulman proclivities of Shah Jehan were due to the influence of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. This lady was of the same type as her aunt Núr Mahal. She fascinated Shah Jehan as Núr Mahal had fascinated Jehangír.[3] She had reasons of her own for hating the Portuguese. In the lax reign of Jehangír two of her daughters had been converted by the Christian Fathers; they had found an asylum amongst the Portuguese.[4] Nothing further is known of these conversions. Young Moghul ladies would incline to a religion which delivered them from the harem, probably gave them husbands, and prohibited the husbands from taking other wives.

Punishment of the Portuguese.

Shah Jehan had his own wrongs to revenge. The Portuguese had refused to help him in his rebellion against his father; they had joined the army of Parwíz and fought against him. The capture of

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[2] This fact is doubtful. It is given on oriental authorities which are unreliable. It is contradicted by the story of Shah Jehan's treatment of the Persian ambassador, which will be related hereafter.

[3] This fascination was doubtless due to the dazzling white complexions of the two ladies. Jehangír had an olive complexion; Shah Jehan was probably browner. See the description of the Taj Mahal further on.

[4] Catrou's History of the Moghul Dynasty.

Hugli was not a difficult matter. Five or six hundred Portuguese were taken prisoners and sent to Agra. Some became Mussulmans; others suffered martyrdom. Had Mumtaz Mahal been alive they would all have suffered a cruel death; she had vowed to have them cut to pieces. By this time she was dead. Shah Jehan placed some of the Portuguese women in his own harem; he distributed others among his dissolute Amírs.[5] CHAPTER VI.

Intrigues of Khan Jehan, the Afghan Sunní.

Meantime the affairs of the Dekhan called for the interference of Shah Jehan. Jehangír had recalled Mahábat Khan the Rajpoot from the command of the army of the Dekhan; he had appointed an Afghan, named Khan Jehan, to command the army in the room of Mahábat Khan.[6] The idea was to pit the Afghans against the Rajpoots. A worse appointment could not have been made. Khan Jehan was an Afghán and a Sunní; so was Malik Amber the Abyssinian. Khan Jehan made no attempt to carry on the war against Ahmadnagar. On the contrary, he gave back to Malik Amber all the territory which had been conquered by Shah Jehan. Possibly he was plotting to upset Moghul rule; to resuscitate the Sunní religion; to found

[5] The story of Shah Jehan's operations against the Portuguese has already been related. See *ante*, vol. iii. chap. 9. It is there stated, on the authority of Bernier, that Shah Jehan's object was to punish the Portuguese for dealing in slaves. Possibly this was one reason why Mumtaz Mahal urged on the war; it would have had no force for a prince like Shah Jehan.

Shah Jehan's fancy for Portuguese women is suggestive. Akber married a Christian wife; Jehangír wanted Portuguese women. Such unions are not peculiar to Moghul history; they characterize the history of the Ottoman Turks. Mahomet the Great was the son of Amurath by a Christian wife. His celebrated concubine Irene was of Christian parentage. Other instances are related by Knolles.

[6] The point is not quite clear. The change of command was probably accompanied by a change of armies. Mahábat Khan would only command Rajpoots; Khan Jehan would only command Afghans.

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another Afghan dynasty. When Shah Jehan was marching to Agra to seize the throne, Khan Jehan refused to join him; it was impossible for Afghans to co-operate with Rajpoots in behalf of a bad Shíah like Shah Jehan.[7]

Submission of Khan Jehan.

When Shah Jehan had gained the throne, Khan Jehan made his submission. Things had gone against him in Ahmadnagar. Malik Amber was dead; his son Fath Khan succeeded to the post of minister. Fath Khan quarrelled with the Sultan; Shíahs and Mahrattas sided with the Sultan against the Abyssinian Sunnís. The Sunnís were losing ground; Khan Jehan was thus forced to submit to Shah Jehan.

Antagonism between Shah Jehan and Khan Jehan.

Shah Jehan accepted the submission of Khan Jehan; he invited Khan Jehan to court; he received him at Agra with great favour. Treachery was at work, probably on both sides. One night there was an uproar. Khan Jehan was marching out of Agra with two thousand Afghans; his drums were beaten as if to arouse others. He went due south towards the river Chambal. Within two hours the imperial forces were in hot pursuit. A battle came off on the bank of the Chambal. The Rajpoots fought the Afghans with the greatest fury; they got down from their horses and charged the Afghans with pikes. The Moghuls were languid or disaffected; they would not fight at all. Khan Jehan escaped to the opposite bank; the imperial forces would not follow him; they turned back to Agra.

Khan Jehan was in open rebellion. The Mus-

[7] Father Catrou is silent as regards the revolt of Khan Jehan. The story is told by Khafi Khan; it is quoted by Elphinstone; it is noticed by Mandelslo; it throws light upon the antagonism between Afghans and Rajpoots.

sulmans in the imperial army would not fight the Afghans. The Moghul court was in the utmost alarm. Shah Jehan took the field in person; at least one strong division was entirely composed of Rajpoots.[8] He resolved to strike at Ahmadnagar; he sent a strong force in pursuit of Khan Jehan. CHAPTER VI. Rebellion and disaffection.

Ahmadnagar was doomed. The Sultan had imprisoned his minister. When threatened by Shah Jehan he released the minister. The minister strangled the Sultan; he placed the son of the Sultan on the throne as a puppet; he then sent his submission to Shah Jehan. In the end the Moghul annexed Ahmadnagar and Berár. The minister was pensioned. The infant Sultan was imprisoned for life in the fortress of Gwalior. Further south Bíjápur and Golkonda remained independent; they promised to pay yearly tribute; they rarely or ever paid it.[9] Annexation of Ahmadnagar and Berár.

Khan Jehan's fate is soon told. He reached Ahmadnagar; he found that Shah Jehan was too strong for him. He tried to return to Hindustan. The Rajpoots surrounded him; he was killed with a pike; his head was sent to Shah Jehan. Khan Jehan slain.

The Rajpoots fought bravely against the Afghans; they were not loyal at heart towards Shah Jehan. They had never been loyal to Jehangír and Shah Jehan as they had been to Akber. They feared Akber and they were devoted to him. When Jehangír rebelled against Akber not a Rajpoot would join him. When Shah Jehan rebelled against Jehangír he was helped by Rajpoots. The Rajpoot princes drew large allowances from the Moghul; Growing disaffection of Rajpoots.

[8] See the description of the army in Mendelslo's Travels, page 39.

[9] See Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. i. chap. 2.

CHAPTER VI. they paid him homage; they mounted guard in their turn. All the time they were disaffected towards the Padishah and his ministers; they were ready to make common cause with any movement against the court. Neither Jehangír nor Shah Jehan could inspire them with respect or fear.

Wars of the tributary Rajas.

The Rajpoot princes outside the Moghul service were more hostile and refractory. They were called tributary Rajas; it is doubtful whether they ever paid any tribute. They were protected by inaccessible mountains and vast forests. They helped the enemies of the Moghul, desolated his dominions, harassed his subjects, hindered trade, and plundered caravans. They were a constant terror to the Moghuls. Had they combined they might have driven the Moghuls out of Hindustan; their wars and feuds amongst themselves rendered confederation impossible. The policy of the Moghuls was to foment dissensions amongst the Rajpoots; to set them against one another. Whilst the Rajpoots were at war against each other the Moghul empire staggered on.[10]

Rajpoot contempt for Shah Jehan: death of Umra Singh.

The Rajpoots began to hold Shah Jehan in contempt. Umra Singh, prince of Marwar, entered the Moghul's service with all his retainers. He was refractory about mounting guard. He went away for a fortnight without leave. When he returned Shah Jehan rebuked him; he replied that he had

[10] India was certainly open to invasion throughout the reign of Shah Jehan. There was, however, no invader. Neither Persia, Turkestan, nor China were strong enough to conquer the rude tribes that separated each country from India. Had the Portuguese been the men they were a century earlier they might have conquered India. But they had orientalized themselves; they had sunk into effeminacy; they had been weakened by their frequent wars with Dutch and English.

been hunting. Shah Jehan sent the Bakhshi to levy a fine upon the Rajpoot; Umra Singh ordered the Bakhshi to leave his quarters. Shah Jehan summoned the Rajpoot to the Durbar. Umra Singh obeyed. He carried a dagger in his sleeve. He entered the hall whilst the Bakhshi was speaking to Shah Jehan. He pushed his way through the crowd of Amírs and Rajas as if to speak to the Padishah. Suddenly he stabbed the minister to the heart; he began to strike at those around him. Shah Jehan was in a panic of fear. He left the throne and ran into the harem. At last Umra Singh was overpowered and slain. Meantime his retainers heard the tidings. They put on their saffron clothes; they rushed off to the palace; they murdered all they met; they threatened to plunder Agra unless the dead body of their prince was given them. Shah Jehan was forced to comply; he dared not punish the Rajpoots. A great Sátí was performed for Umra Singh; thirteen women perished on the burning pile.[11]

Shah Jehan's treachery and cowardice.

Shah Jehan was becoming despicable. He marched an army into Bundelkund to compel a Raja named Champat to pay tribute. Champat held a strong position. Shah Jehan was afraid to attack him. He offered to pardon Champat, to give him more territory, if he would only retire without fighting. Champat agreed; he retired from the position. Shah Jehan broke his word and attacked him. The attack failed. Shah Jehan retreated in

[11] Tavernier's Travels in India, Book iii. chap. 8. Catrou's History of the Moghul Dynasty, page 194. Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. page 45. The Rajpoots were sometimes uncontrollable. When Tavernier was at Surat a Rajpoot stabbed the governor to death for demanding custom on some calicoes.

CHAPTER VI. disgrace. Champat ravaged the Moghul's dominions; there was no one to oppose him.[12]

Childish behaviour to the Persian ambassador.

Shah Jehan had lost all manliness of character. He received an ambassador from Persia; he made childish efforts to induce the Persian to prostrate himself. At last he shut the grand entrance to the Durbar court; he left nothing but a low gateway which no one could pass without stooping. The Persian saw the trick; he went through the gateway backwards. Shah Jehan boiled over with rage. "What," he exclaimed, "do you think you are entering a stable of asses?" "Most assuredly I do!" replied the Persian; "no one could enter such a wicket without thinking he was visiting asses." The retort nearly cost the Persian his life. Shah Jehan was a coward. The ambassador returned through a narrow street which led from the Durbar court to the entrance of the fortress. On the way a vicious elephant was let loose upon him. The Persian and his followers drew their bows; their arrows scared away the elephant; but for their gallantry they would have been trampled to death.[13]

Absurd flattery.

The flatterers of Shah Jehan praised him for his administration of justice. Such flattery is common

[12] Father Catrou's History of the Moghul Dynasty: reign of Shah Jehan. The other wars of Shah Jehan were of small importance. They throw some light upon the state of the frontiers; they reveal nothing whatever of the court and administration. On the north-west Kábul was a bone of contention with the Uzbegs. Farther south Kandahar was a bone of contention with Persia. In the end Kábul remained with the Moghuls; Kandahar remained with Persia. There were other petty wars against Thibet and Assam; they teach nothing; they illustrate nothing.

[13] Bernier's Travels in the Moghul Empire. Another story told by Bernier is suggestive. An ambassador from Golkonda was equally contemptuous towards the Moghul. During the audience Shah Jehan was fanned by an ugly slave. "Is your master as tall as this slave?" he asked the ambassador. "I think not," replied the envoy; "my master is only a head taller than your Majesty."

in Asiatic courts; the justice is nearly always wanting. Strangely enough the flattery has crept into history; even European writers have been beguiled into the belief that Shah Jehan was an able administrator. Two samples of his judgments were recorded in the Moghul chronicles; they suffice to refute the errors of history; they prove his imbecility; they exhibit the falsehood of the flattery.

Equity of Shah Jehan.

The instance of Shah Jehan's equity brings out his character. A court writer complained that a soldier had stolen away his female slave. The girl was tired of the writer; she swore that she belonged to the soldier. The case was suited to the capacity of Shah Jehan. He gave his pen for the girl to fill. She dipped the pen with dexterity; she handed it to him with grace. She was evidently accustomed to the duty. Shah Jehan decided that she belonged to the writer. "The wisdom of the monarch was the admiration of the whole empire." [14]

Supervision of justice.

An instance of Shah Jehan's supervision of his magistrates is equally suggestive. He was told that the Kótwal of Delhi had taken a bribe. He sent a cobra to the offender. The Kótwal allowed himself to be bitten; he died in a few hours. Such is the Moghul idea of an able sovereign.

Highway robberies.

One great measure is attributed to Shah Jehan. He is said to have exterminated all the robbers in the empire. The flattery is shameless falsehood. It is contradicted by Manouchi. It is contradicted by every European traveller who visited India during the reign of Shah Jehan. It was impossible to

[14] The sentence in inverted commas is taken from Father Catrou's History. Neither Catrou, nor Manouchi, nor any other European, would have written such nonsense. It is the language of an Asiatic; it was no doubt copied from the Moghul chronicle.

CHAPTER VI. travel anywhere without a guard of twenty or thirty soldiers.

Shah Jehan, the slave of the harem.

The cause of Shah Jehan's imbecility is obvious. He had lost every sense of manliness by his unbounded sensualities. To use the language of a Rajpoot bard, he was the slave of the harem.[15] A general description of the harem will serve to indicate the character of his reign.[16]

Mahal or harem: guard of Tartar women.

The harem quarter of the palace was called the Mahal. It covered an immense area between the Ghusal-khana and the Jharokha window. It comprised numerous chambers opening into gardens and fountains. Two thousand women dwelt in the harem; nothing was known of them save what was told by eunuchs and lady visitors. No man was allowed to enter except the Padishah. There to all appearance he reigned supreme in a paradise of houris. The realities will be gathered from the history. There was constant intrigue; no life was safe. The Padishah was guarded by a hundred Tartar women. This force of Amazons was commanded by a woman; she had the rank and pay of an Amír of the empire.

Queens, princesses, and concubines.

The ladies of the harem were ranked as queens, princesses, and concubines. Each lady had quarters of her own, and a monthly salary according to her rank. The queens and princesses were served from the royal kitchens; hence they were called Begums, that is, "free from care." The concubines provided their own food out of their monthly salaries.

Queens, princesses, and concubines were all

[15] See Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 47.

[16] The account of the harem is given on the authority of Manouchi's description. It corresponds to what is known of the harem of the king of Burma.

arrayed in the same fashion. They formed their hair in tresses. They wore a new dress of a different colour every day. They were adorned with numerous jewels. Each one wore a mirror on her thumb; it was fastened on a ring. They were ever looking at their mirrors. CHAPTER VI. Dress.

Every lady had her own band of damsels. The damsels sang, danced, played on musical instruments, acted parts in dramas and spectacles. Sometimes all the bands performed in concert before the Padishah. Any girl who pleased him might become a concubine or queen; from the day of her promotion she had a chamber and a salary of her own. Every lady had her own slaves; they did the menial work of the harem; they played no part in history. Dancing girls and slave girls.

The ruling powers in the Mahal might be likened to duennas and governesses. Their authority was supreme in the Mahal; their influence was often felt to the extremities of the empire. They filled offices in the harem corresponding to those of the chief ministers of state; they went by similar names, such as vizier, treasurer, and paymaster. They carried on a correspondence with the ministers; they sent couriers to any city or province they pleased; they formed the harem council of the Padishah. They received presents from ministers, viceroys, and governors; they procured presents for the favourites of the Padishah. The power of these duennas was immense. The Mahal was a network of intrigue. Every Amír was anxious to place a daughter in the Mahal. If she gained favour she furthered the advancement of her father; on the other hand, she was expected to reveal all the secrets of her family.[17] Female administration.

[17] Such depraved subserviency is in strict accordance with Moghul ideas.

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Antiquity of female rule.

This system of female rule has been at work in Moghul empires from a remote antiquity. It was secret and searching. It is in full force to this day in the palace of the king of Burma. The expenditure of the imperial harem was beyond all computation; its pressure was felt throughout the administration and throughout the empire.

Fancy fairs.

Some monarchs might have been content to reign after the manner of Ahasuerus. Shah Jehan was not of this sort. He was depraved and selfish beyond all his predecessors. He was not content with the daughters of his Amírs; he hankered after their wives. He held a fancy fair in his palace at every festival. The wives of the Amírs attended and played at keeping shops; they brought their daughters with them. Shah Jehan and his ladies played the part of purchasers. He often broke the old Moghul law against adultery. The fact was notorious; he had no sense of shame; he gave deadly offence to the Amírs. They were his slaves; they could not resist him. When the hour of trouble came they deserted him to a man.[18]

The Taj Mahal.

Shah Jehan built the famous Taj Mahal at Agra. It has handed down his name to posterity. It must have cost millions sterling. Twenty thousand men are said to have laboured at it for twenty years.

Significance of the Taj Mahal.

The Taj Mahal is a monument of historical significance. It is typical of Shah Jehan. Mumtaz

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The so-called "Arabian Nights" are more Moghul than Arab. In the introduction there is a story of a Sultan of the Indies who married a daughter of one of his courtiers every evening and strangled her every morning. No objection was raised to the marriages; the murders were regarded with horror; no one dared to revolt. The daughter of the Vizier begged to be a bride of the Sultan; she beguiled him out of his murderous ways by telling him interminable stories. No Europeans, none but Asiatics, would have submitted to such tyranny.

[18] Compare Bernier's Travels and Father Catrou's History.

Mahal was the name of his first wife. She was the daughter of Asof Khan; the niece of Núr Mahal. He loved her for her beauty; his love did not prevent his marrying another wife whilst she was still alive. He built a mausoleum for her remains; he named it the Taj Mahal. The tomb is a lofty dome of white marble. It is supported by four arches of white marble. Inside, the walls are of white marble; they are inlaid with precious stones of different colours in a variety of designs. Some of the gates are white marble slabs; they are exquisitely perforated. The tomb is in the midst of gardens and terraces. Round about are lofty pavilions with galleries and arched ways. CHAPTER VI.

The spirit of the place is feminine. There is nothing stately or masculine in the buildings; nothing to recall the architecture of Greece or Rome. It is lovely beyond description; the loveliness is feminine. It is not the tomb of a wife; it is the shrine of a mistress. It awakens ideas of fair-complexioned beauty; the soul is dead; the form, the charm, the grace of beauty are lingering there. The walls are like muslin dresses radiant with flowers and jewels. The perforated marble gates are like lace veils. The pavilions with their galleries and arched ways are retreats where a sovereign might dally with fair damsels. The Taj Mahal is the outcome of the imagination of Shah Jehan. He loved women as drunkards love wine. When they were alive he sported with them in arcades and gardens. When they were dead he enshrined them in a marble tomb and decked it with jewels. Feminine character.

There is a horrible scandal connected with Taj

CHAPTER VI. Begum Sahib.

Mahal. It cannot be dropped in oblivion; it finds expression in the history. Shah Jehan had a daughter by Taj Mahal; she was known as the Begum Sahib; he made the Begum Sahib his mistress. The influence of the Begum Sahib on Shah Jehan was known and felt to the extremities of the empire.[19] She drew enormous allowances from the imperial treasury; she received costly presents from all quarters.[20]

General administration.

The working of the administration under these foul conditions may be gathered from an anecdote told by Tavernier. Whilst Tavernier was travelling in India an Amír was appointed viceroy of Scinde. From the first year of his administration the people complained of his tyranny and extortion. Nothing was done; he remained four years at Scinde; he was then recalled to Agra. The people expected he would be put to death. They were disappointed. He was received with great favour by Shah Jehan; he was appointed viceroy of the richer province of Allahabad. The cause was soon known. Before going to Agra he sent fifty thousand gold mohurs to Shah Jehan; he also sent twenty thousand gold

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[19] The relations between Shah Jehan and the Begum Sahib are too notorious to be denied; they are mentioned by all contemporary writers; the fact is broadly stated by Herbert, Bernier, Tavernier, and the author of the Siyar-ul-Mutakherin. Manouchi tries to discredit it, probably on the authority of the Moghul chronicle which would take some pains to contradict the charge. The fact, however, is too apparent. It not only finds expression in the history; it is the key to the history.

Bernier relates two suggestive anecdotes; they are typical of the Moghul court. On two occasions Shah Jehan discovered that the Begum Sahib had a lover. He paid her a visit when the lover was with her. The man escaped to a cauldron used for the baths. Shah Jehan affected to be unconscious; he ordered the fire to be lit; he would not move until he knew that the man was dead. He got rid of the second lover by giving him poisoned betel in the presence of the court; the youth accepted it as a mark of favour; he left the palace with gladness; he died in his palanquin before he reached home.

[20] Bernier's Travels in the Moghul Empire.

mohurs to the Begum Sahib. His presents secured him pardon and reward.[21] CHAPTER VI.

Obscurity of the reign.

The so-called history of the reign of Shah Jehan may be told in a few words. It lasted thirty years. It began in wars for the establishment of his authority. It ended in wars for the subversion of his authority. The interval is a blank; it was doubtless filled up with revolts and treacheries, such as those already recorded, such as those which were at work throughout the reign of Jehangír. The only authentic narrative that has been preserved is Catrou's history of the reign of Shah Jehan based upon the memoirs of Manouchi. Probably there was nothing worth preserving. Catrou's history chiefly refers to the great war which broke out between the four sons of Shah Jehan during the last years of the reign.

Nomade court.

Shah Jehan spent the cool months at Agra, the hot months at Kashmír. His life in both cities was the same. To all appearance it was frittered away in public shows and private debaucheries. He had no taste for literature; he cared not for learned men. He delighted in the bloodiest combats, the coarsest farces, the grossest obscenities.[22]

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[21] Tavernier's Travels in India, Book i. chap. 2. Tavernier speaks of gold rupees; he values them at sixteen rupees each; he is evidently referring to gold mohurs. The two bribes aggregated more than a hundred thousand pounds sterling. Tavernier was as much smitten with the mania for flattery as later historians. He tells the tale of tyranny and bribery from his own experience; in another place he says that Shah Jehan was the father of his people. It is easy to account for this base flattery. Tavernier was a jeweller; he complains bitterly of the obstructions of Aurungzeb; he had found no difficulties to his trade in the reign of Shah Jehan. After all, Shah Jehan is not the first bad sovereign who has been called the father of his people. Strangely enough, Elphinstone quotes the flattery and seems to ignore the testimony.

[22] Details may be found in the works of some of the old travellers, notably in Mandelslo. (See Travels, pages 30, 43.) The following remarks in Father

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Poisonings.

Amidst all these gratifications Shah Jehan led a life of terror. He poisoned others without scruple; he was always afraid of being poisoned himself. He would eat nothing that had not been prepared under the eye of the Begum Sahib. It will be seen in the after history that he was a prey to fears of every kind.

Greediness and prodigality.

Shah Jehan was quite as greedy as Jehangír. During the earlier years of his reign he squandered his treasures in pomp and show. As already stated, he built the Taj Mahal at Agra. He built a new city near Delhi; he called it Shah Jehanabad, or the city of Shah Jehan; it goes by the old name of Delhi. He constructed the peacock throne at Delhi; it was one of the wonders of the world. He constructed new pavilions for his camp; they were more magnificent than those of Jehangír. He lavished enormous sums in the celebration of festivals. Later on his character underwent a change. He grew avaricious. He stored up treasures against an evil day. The evil day came; it scattered his treasures to the winds.

European travellers.

Notwithstanding the absence of authentic history, it is easy to realize the surroundings of Shah Jehan. In 1638,—the tenth year of the reign,—a young gentleman, named Mandelslo, travelled to

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Catrou's History will suffice; they are apparently based on the authority of Manouchí, not on that of the Moghul chronicle:—

"In the delicious retreats of the harem Shah Jehan forgot the warlike inclinations of his youth, and gave himself up to a voluptuous life. Poetry, music, the dance, the theatre, had each their prescribed hours; the entire day was nearly engrossed by these amusements. No one enjoyed greater favour with the monarch than a poet of the country, whose fertile imagination was continually inventing new entertainments for the harem, and gave a varied form to the pleasures of the emperor. The grossest farces were the most to his taste. He retained his inclinations for the sanguinary exhibition of the gladiators, who were compelled to combat in his presence armed with poniards."

Agra. Seventeen years later, about 1655, a French physician, named Bernier, travelled through Hindustan and the Dekhan; he resided twelve years at Delhi. CHAPTER VI.

Mandelslo, 1638—1640.

John Albert de Mandelslo was only twenty-four years of age. He had served as a page to the Duke of Holstein. He had travelled much in Persia in the retinue of an embassy that the Duke had sent to the Shah. His travels present a graphic picture of India, as it was in the tenth year of the reign of Shah Jehan.[23]

Landing at Surat.

Mandelslo landed at Surat, in April, 1638. The custom-house officials received him much as they received Roe. They opened chests and portmanteaus; they searched clothes and pockets. The governor was present in person. He took an amber bracelet and a diamond; he wanted to buy them. Mandelslo said that he was no merchant; he refused to sell. The governor was touched; he restored the articles.[24]

English factory.

Mandelslo proceeded to the English house in the President's coach drawn by two white oxen. He was entertained from April to September. He was struck by the order which reigned in the English factory. Every man had his regular duties. There were prayers twice a day; three times on Sundays. On Friday evenings they met to drink to the health

[23] The Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo into the East Indies, begun in 1638 and finished in 1640. Rendered into English by John Davies of Kidwelly. Folio. London: 1669.

[24] Mandelslo's Travels, page 12. Mandelslo was a quick-witted young man; he had been bred at a court; he was diplomatic in his speech. He made his way everywhere. The English merchants at Ispahan were charmed with him; they gave him a free passage to Surat. The captain of the ship was equally charmed; he gave up his cabin to Mandelslo; he supplied him with fresh meat, excellent sack, English beer, and French wines. Wherever Mandelslo went he was treated with the like hospitality.

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of their wives whom they had left in England. On Sundays, after sermon, they went to a garden-house in the suburbs and shot at butts. By this time the English and Moghuls had become good friends.[25]

Journey to Ahmadabad.

In September an English Kafila, or caravan, of thirty waggons was going to Ahmadabad, the capital of Guzerat. It was accompanied by four English merchants and nine native merchants known as Banians. The road was infested by Rajpoots; consequently the Kafila was guarded by twelve English soldiers and as many Indian ones. Mandelslo went with the merchants; without such protection he could not have travelled in India. He still wore European costume; the English and Dutch were dressed as natives. The party passed through Baroche and Baroda. They often halted on the way. They shot game, which was very plentiful; they had skirmishes with Rajpoots. They had battles over transit duties or black mail. Sometimes they were amused with the performances of dancing-girls.[26]

Court of Areb Khan.

At Ahmadabad Mandelslo paid two visits to Areb Khan, the governor. Areb Khan was sixty years of age; he had the title of Raja.[27] He was reported very wealthy. His daughter was married to the second son of Shah Jehan. He commanded a force of twelve thousand horse and fifty elephants; it was maintained out of the revenues of the Moghul. His court consisted of five hundred persons; of these four hundred were slaves.[28]

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[25] Mandelslo's Travels, pages 12, 13, 16, *et seq.*

[26] Mandelslo, page 19, *et seq.*

[27] It seems to have been the custom in Shah Jehan's reign to confer the Hindú title of Raja on Moghul Amirs. This was one sign of the Hinduizing of the Moghul administration. Further signs will appear hereafter.

[28] Mandelslo, page 28, *et seq.*

On each occasion Mandelslo found Areb Khan seated in a tent or pavilion, looking out upon a garden. Areb Khan was much taken with Mandelslo; advised him to wear native costume; kept him to dinner. At the second visit Mandelslo dressed as a native. Areb Khan was busy; he told Mandelslo to stay. He despatched orders; sometimes he wrote himself. Now and then he smoked tobacco; a servant stood by, holding the pipe with one hand and lighting it with the other. At intervals Areb Khan went out to inspect some troops. He examined their arms; made them shoot at a mark; increased the pay of some; reduced the pay of others.[29] He also took opium and gave some to Mandelslo.[30]

Visits to Areb Khan.

Areb Khan was a type of a Moghul governor. He was a man of judgment and capacity. Under this fair surface he could be brutally cruel. On one occasion, when the English and Dutch Presidents were present, he ordered eight dancing-girls to be beheaded. They had not come when ordered. The women shrieked and screamed. Areb Khan was inflexible; the orders were obeyed. The two Europeans were horrified. Areb Khan only laughed; he said,—"Unless I am obeyed, gentlemen, I should soon cease to be governor."[31]

Horrible atrocity.

Mandelslo went with another Kafila from Ahmadabad to Agra. Nothing occurred on the way beyond encounters with Rajpoots. Agra was a beautiful city; it was the favourite residence of Shah Jehan. It stood on the bank of the Jumna. Every nation in the east carried on a trade at Agra.

Journey to Agra.

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[29] Those who know Asiatics will perceive that Areb Khan was showing off before the European stranger.

[30] Mandelslo, page 29.

[31] Mandelslo, page 30.

CHAPTER VI. All merchandise paid a duty of ten per cent. on the value, whether the goods were going out or coming in. The streets were broad; they were lined with shops which stood in vaults or arcades. There were eighty caravanserais for travellers; they were three stories high, with lodgings, stables, and cellars. One man was in charge of every caravanserai; he saw that everything was locked up. He also acted as sutler; he supplied provisions, forage, wood, and water to all the lodgers.[32]

Palace at Agra. The palace of Shah Jehan stood between the city and the river Jumna. It was surrounded by walls of red sandstone. It comprised three areas:—

1. The Bazar street leading from the grand entrance to the Durbar court.[33]

2. The Durbar court, Ghusal-khana, and pavilions of various kinds.

3. The Mahal, or harem.

Bazar street: Mahal: Jharokha window. The Bazar street faced the city. The Mahal, or harem, looked out upon a sandy plain which stretched to the Jumna. The Jharokha window overlooked the plain. Every morning Shah Jehan came to this window to offer his prayers to the rising sun. All the grandees at court attended to

[32] Mandelslo, page 34. Thevenot, who travelled in India twenty or thirty years later, counted only sixty caravanserais. He says that some of them comprised six courts. (Travels, Part III. chap. 19.) Bernier, who lived much longer in India than Mandelslo, was by no means charmed with the caravanserais. "They resemble," he says, "large barns, raised and paved all round. Hundreds of human beings are seen in them, mingled with their horses, mules, and camels. In summer these buildings are hot and suffocating; in winter nothing but the breath of many animals prevents the inmates from dying of cold."—*Letter to Colbert.*

[33] The grand entrance to the Bazar street faced the city. Thevenot says that there was a great square between the grand entrance and city. This would correspond to the great square at Delhi. The Amirs mounted guard in the Bazar street. The Rajpoot princes, who had an invincible dislike to entering a fortress without their retainers, mounted guard in the great square outside.

pay him homage; they stood at distances according to their respective rank. At noon he came again to see the combats. At sunset he came again. He retired for the night amid the acclamations of the people and the deafening noise of drums and hautboys.[34] CHAPTER VI.

Tyranny and corruption.

Mandelslo describes the administration of the country as tyrannical and corrupt. The Padishah was absolute; his word was law and above all law. At his command the greatest lords were dragged to execution. The lives and fortunes of all his subjects were in his hands. The Amírs approached him as men approach deity. They declared that they were his slaves; that they were but dust and ashes in comparison with the Padishah.[35]

Extortion.

The viceroys and governors were often changed lest they should grow too powerful. They had no bowels of compassion; they hastened to become rich; they took bribes from all sides. They trumped up false charges against the richest merchants only to squeeze them. The viceroy was the supreme judge within his province; those who could not satisfy his greed were doomed to destruction.[36]

The Kótwal.

The Kótwal was the judge in smaller matters. He also executed all capital sentences pronounced by governors. The corruption was universal. Any offender could escape provided only that he had money. The gibbet was only for the unfortunate.[37]

Despotism of viceroys and governors.

Mandelslo's description of the administration of justice in the reign of Shah Jehan is suggestive; it reveals more than it tells. Akber prohibited all executions until he had confirmed the sentence. In

[34] Mandelslo, page 30, *et seq.*
[35] Mandelslo, pages 38, 41.
[36] Mandelslo, page 48.
[37] Mandelslo, page 49.

CHAPTER VI. the reign of Shah Jehan this wholesome rule had been set aside; viceroys and governors executed as they pleased. Each viceroy was an irresponsible tyrant within his own province; he might torture, plunder, and murder at will.[38]

Bells of justice. Against all this wickedness and corruption there was no appeal. Akber hung up bells, or a chain of bells, in his palace; all might ring them who wanted justice. Jehangír boasted that he had done the same.[39] Mandelslo describes the bells; he adds that any one who rings them does so at the hazard of his life. Under such a sovereign as Shah Jehan no man could have rung the bells; bribery and perjury would have condemned the complainant to die.[40]

Moghul army. Mandelslo describes the Moghul army. The officers knew nothing of van-guard, main-battle, or rear-guard. They understood neither rank nor file. They made no battalion; they fought confusedly without order. The cavalry were armed with the bow, the javelin, the scimitar, and the poniard; they carried bucklers hanging from their necks. Some of the infantry were expert with the musket.

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[38] Mandelslo, *ibid.* The statement of Mandelslo is confirmed by facts. As already seen, Areb Khan beheaded eight women for not obeying his orders. Tavernier tells the story of the bribery of Shah Jehan and the Begum Sahib by the tyrannical viceroy of Scinde. Father Catrou is equally explicit. He says that when Shah Jehan was growing old his avarice surpassed all his other vices. He rewarded his officers by permitting them to plunder the people with impunity; he then seized on their wealth and appropriated the spoil.

Of course a flatterer may be found, who takes a different view. Khâfi Khan, a Mussulman historian who flourished long after the death of Shah Jehan, asserts that he was a better administrator than Akber. The assertion is fulsome and false. Khâfi Khan was not a contemporary of Shah Jehan; he was a Shiah partisan; he bitterly hated Aurungzeb; no doubt he praised Shah Jehan out of spite against Aurungzeb.

Strange to say, Elphinstone quotes the loose and prejudiced statement of this party writer; he ignores the impartial testimony of Europeans and contemporaries. This is one specimen of the way in which the history of India has been falsified.

[39] Jehangir's Memoirs, page 5. [40] Mandelslo, pages 36, 37.

They had no fire-arms with wheels, nor yet fire-locks. Those of the infantry who had no muskets carried bows and arrows. They also carried pikes ten or twelve feet long; not, as in Europe, to oppose a cavalry charge, but to begin the battle. The elephants served as a trench to oppose the first charge; they were often driven back by fire-works. The Moghuls had abundance of artillery.[41]

Mandelslo leaves India.

Mandelslo was obliged to fly from Agra. Whilst at Ispahan he had killed a man in a fray. At Agra he met a kinsman of the man. He had reason to fear that his life was in danger; he went away to Delhi. His further travels are mere personal adventure.[42]

New Delhi founded by Shah Jehan.

After Mandelslo left India Shah Jehan left Agra. He fixed his capital at his new city of Shah Jehanabad; it still goes by the name of Delhi. The Moghul emperors often changed the capital. Akber moved it from Delhi to Agra; Jehangír moved it from Agra to Lahore; Shah Jehan returned to Agra; the heat of Agra drove him to Delhi. The nomade instinct of the Moghul worked these changes. The Moghul kings of Burma move about in like manner from Ava to Amarapura, from Amarapura to Mandalay.

Bernier, 1655–1667.

Francis Bernier travelled in India when the court was at Delhi. He was thirty years of age when he went to India. He was a different man from Mandelslo. He had more political insight.

[41] Mandelslo, page 40.

[42] Mandelslo, pages 44, 45. Mandelslo went from Surat to England in 1640. He was well entertained by the East India Company. He returned to Holstein, but could not find suitable employment. He went to Germany; he obtained a command of a troop of horse. He paid a visit to Paris, and died there of small-pox.

CHAPTER VI. He was twelve years in India—from 1655 to 1667. He did not write from surface observations; his conclusions were those of an experienced and thoughtful man.[43]

Description of New Delhi.

Bernier describes Delhi much as Mandelslo describes Agra. There was a city, a square, and a palace. He brings out the significance of the several quarters. Each had a story to tell; each played a part in the later history.[44]

City.

The city was little better than a camp. There were broad streets lined with arcades and shops; they were intersected by narrow streets and lanes. A few houses were built of stone and brick; many were built of clay whitened with lime; thousands were mud hovels. When the court was at Delhi the city was crowded with people. When the court was away from Delhi the city was silent and bare. The Amírs and Rajas left their houses to dwell in canvas pavilions; the soldiers, camp-followers, servants, artisans, and labourers left their mud hovels to dwell in tents.

Great square: astrologers.

The great square between the palace and the city was the centre of city life. When the court was at Delhi, the square was a vast bazaar. There Rajpoot princes mounted guard; horses were paraded and mustered; wares of all kinds were offered for sale; mountebanks and jugglers performed to idle crowds; astrologers told fortunes to

[43] Travels in the Moghul Empire by Francis Bernier. Translated from the French by Irving Brock. 2 vols. There are so many editions of Bernier, that it would be useless to give references to pages. The author has followed the Calcutta reprint.

[44] Bernier has one weakness of which he was unconscious; he had no deep insight into character. He fails to read the characters of the sons of Shah Jehan. Father Catrou's History of the Moghul Dynasty shows a larger knowledge and keener appreciation.

all comers. The astrologers were an institution. They sat on pieces of carpet; they handled mathematical instruments; they opened large books which showed the signs of the zodiac. They told a fortune for a penny; they examined the hand and face; they turned over the leaves of the large book; they feigned to make calculations; they fixed the fortunate moment for beginning any business. Silly women covered from head to foot in white calico flocked to the astrologers. They whispered the secrets of their lives with the frankness of penitents in the presence of their confessors. They believed that the astrologers could control the influence of the stars.[45]

Palace: the public quarter.

The palace and gardens at Delhi were on the same plan as Agra. There was more magnificence. There was a bazar street; there was also a street of public offices. There were quarters for the Amírs and Mansubdars who mounted guard within the palace walls. There were workshops for embroiderers, goldsmiths, painters, lacquer-joiners, turners, tailors, shoemakers, and dressmakers of every kind.

Durbar, Ghusal-khana, Mahal.

Beyond this public quarter was the Durbar court. It formed a large quadrangle surrounded by arcades; the Durbar hall was at the further end; it was

[45] One ridiculous pretender in Bernier's time was a half-caste Portuguese, who had fled from Goa. He could neither read nor write. His only instrument was an old mariner's compass; his only books of astrology were a couple of old Catholic prayer-books. He pointed out the pictures in these prayer-books as the signs of the European zodiac.

Bernier so far is only describing the poorer sort of astrologers that told fortunes in the bazar. The better sort who frequented the courts of the grandees were of a very different character. They were regarded as eminent doctors. They received large salaries; they were consulted before engaging in the most trifling transaction. They read whatever was written in heaven; they fixed upon the fortunate moment; they solved every doubt by opening the Koran. *Letter to M. De la Mothe le Vayer.*

CHAPTER VI. known as the Am-khás, or audience-chamber of high and low; it was supported by thirty-two columns of white marble; the ceiling and columns were decorated with gold and colours. The throne was within a recess or opening at the back of the hall. Over the throne was a splendid peacock of gold and jewels. Behind the Am-khás was the Ghusal-khana. Beyond the Am-khás was the Mahal or harem; a Mussulman paradise of pavilions, gardens, ladies, and Tartar guards; the nursery of every vice and crime that tainted Moghul rule.

Stone elephants. The palace of Shah Jehan had strange belongings. The grand entrance facing the great square was guarded by two stone Rajpoots mounted on two stone elephants. Such guardianship has a grave significance. It reveals the fact that the Moghul court had become Hinduized; that Islam had died out or was ignored. Images large and small are offensive to all good Mussulmans. They are strictly forbidden by the Koran. Probably the statues were set up at Delhi to gratify the Rajpoots. They represented the two Rajpoot heroes,—Patta and Jeimal,—who sacrificed their lives to save Chitór from Akber. Possibly they served another purpose. From a remote antiquity colossal figures of elephants and gods were placed at the gateways of palaces and pagodas; they were the guardian deities of the buildings. The usage is common to Buddhism and Brálımanism; it is commoner in Burma than in India. The elephants and their riders at Delhi may have had a symbolic meaning; the Padishah had placed his palace under the guardianship of Rajpoots.

The peacock of gold and jewels that hung over

the throne was another violation of the Koran. It was the Hindú symbol of sovereignty; the emblem of the children of the Sun. It was common alike to Bráhmanism and Buddhism, to Rajpoot and Moghul. The peacock was the ensign of the old Rajas of Vijayanagar. To this day it is the ensign of the kings of Burma.[46] Akber had taken a golden sun as his emblem; Shah Jehan had taken the peacock. No reason is given for the change. It is sufficient that both Akber and Shah Jehan claim to be children of the sun through Timúr and Chenghiz Khan.[47]

Peacock throne: an emblem of the sun.

It has already been seen that from a remote antiquity India has been divided between a solar and a lunar race, between the children of the sun and the children of the moon. The Persians, the Moghuls, and the Rajpoots claim to be descended from the sun. The other race has been a mystery. It is solved by the crescent of the Turks. The Ottomans carry the crescent on their standards; they thus proclaim themselves to be the children of the moon. The antagonism has survived the triumph of Islam; it finds expression in the antagonism between Shíah and Sunní.[48]

Solar and lunar races: Persians and Turks.

The Hindú nature of Shah Jehan expressed itself in other ways besides the peacock throne. It

Hindú nature of Shah Jehan.

[46] The peacock of gold and jewels, and the arrangement of the peacock over the throne, was copied from the Hindú court at Vijayanagar. Lettres Edifiantés et Curieuse, vol. xiii. Letter from Father Bouchet.

[47] See *ante*, vol. iii. page 328, 330, *note*. Also pages 171, 184 of the present volume.

[48] The further investigations of this question must be left to students in comparative philology. It may possibly throw light on the ancient antagonisms of races. The Hindú epic of the Rámáyana refers to the children of the sun; that of the Mahá Bhárata refers to the children of the moon. Possibly the antagonism corresponds to that between Iran and Turan, Gog and Magog, Persian and Scythian.

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was the custom of Hindú Rajas to lay the foundation of public buildings in human blood. Such cruelties were unknown to Mussulman rule; they were revived by Shah Jehan. He caused several criminals to be slaughtered at Delhi; their blood was shed on the foundations of the city.[49]

War between his four sons.

The latter years of the reign of Shah Jehan were dark and terrible. Whilst he was yet alive Hindustan was convulsed by a war between his four sons for the possession of the empire. The history of that war reveals the worst phases in oriental life; it brings out the innate treachery, falsehood, and selfishness of the men who called themselves Moghuls; it throws fresh light upon the antagonisms which were at work in the political system.[50]

Family of Shah Jehan.

Shah Jehan had four sons and two daughters. His four sons were named Dara, Shujà, Aurungzeb, and Murád. Each son was a type of character; a representative of a class. For years Shah Jehan was conscious that his sons were plotting to seize the throne. He kept Dara at court; he sent his three other sons to the extremities of the empire. Shujá was viceroy of Bengal. Aurungzeb was viceroy of the Dekhan. Murád was viceroy of Guzerat. All three ruled their provinces like independent kings; it will be necessary to unfold the character of each before telling the story of the fratricidal war.

Dara was the eldest son of Shah Jehan. He was a

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[49] This foul custom still lingers in the memory of Hindús. If a bridge or other public work is to be built, Hindú mothers are filled with horror. They shut up their children, lest they should be seized and murdered. This terror prevailed in southern India as late as 1860; since then it may have died out.

[50] To prevent the necessity for frequent references, it will suffice to state that the remaining history of the reign of Shah Jehan is based upon the history of Father Catrou with occasional references to Bernier and Tavernier.

man of intellect and capacity. He had studied philosophy and religion; he was acquainted with European languages and sciences. He was much attached to Europeans; he took Europeans into his pay as engineers and artillerymen. He was puffed up by his knowledge; he spoke out his mind too freely; he was disdainful and insulting. He despised Islam and leaned towards Christianity. He held the ministers in contempt. He was blinded by conceit; he thought he was beloved and admired; he accepted flattery as truth; he little knew that his flatterers hated him.

Dara the infidel.

Shuja was the second son of Shah Jehan. He had courage and capacity; he was artful and suspicious. He kept spies at court; he was in secret understanding with the leading Rajas. He corresponded with the Shah of Persia; he became a Shíah to attract Persians to his service. He held the Sunní religion in contempt.

Shuja the Shiah.

Aurungzeb was the third son of Shah Jehan. He was the genius of the family. He was watchful, far-seeing, and crafty. He concealed his ambitious designs behind the mask of religion. He was a strict Sunní. He made religion serve his interests; he was no common hypocrite; he lived up to his professions. He was spare in his diet; he subsisted on rice and roots; he never touched wine. He dressed only in white; he wore but few jewels. He had a spare habit of body; it gave him an air of penitence; he knew how to accompany it with pious discourses. He was always pale and livid; his eyes were sunk in his head. He was thoughtful and taciturn; he seldom spoke excepting out of zeal for Muhammad and the law. He often carried the Koran under his

Aurungzeb the strict Sunni.

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arm. He often prayed in public. Every day he recited a string of the praises of God. He affected to yearn after a religious life; he hoped to spend his last days in penitence and prayer near the tomb of the prophet at Medina. He was bent upon obtaining the throne; he knew the risk; if he failed he might save his life by becoming a Fakír.

Murád the lax Sunní.

Murád was the fourth and youngest son of Shah Jehan. He despised artifice; he was easily beguiled. He prided himself on his strength and courage. He was fond of arms; he was also fond of hunting lions and boars. He professed to be a Sunní like Aurungzeb.

Two daughters.

Shah Jehan had two daughters. Begum Sahib, the elder, promoted the interests of Dara. She had been promised a husband if Dara got the throne. She worked hard for Dara. Royshan Rai Begum, the younger, worked hard for Aurungzeb. Probably she had obtained a similar promise from Aurungzeb.

Dara. the crown prince, at the capital.

Dara was heir-apparent to the throne; in the absence of his brothers he was the soul of the royal council. Shah Jehan cared little for the administration; he was content to be sovereign in the harem and treasury. He left Dara to rule the empire with absolute power; he kept the control of the revenues in his own hands.

Proud and insolent.

As Dara grew in power, he became more haughty and insolent than ever. He gave his confidence to no one but Europeans. He was arrogant towards the Rajpoot princes. He was violent towards Mahábat Khan; the old Rajpoot prepared for war; Shah Jehan got frightened; Dara was quieted down. In like manner Dara insulted Raja Jai Singh of Jai-

pur; he called Jai Singh a musician; Jai Singh never forgot the insult. Dara was charged with having poisoned a prime minister; he was suspected of having strangled a secretary of state. He imprisoned or banished all whom he suspected of being lukewarm in his interest. He stung the grandees to the quick by his jealousy and scorn.[51] CHAPTER VI.

Shuja, Aurungzeb, and Murád in the provinces.

The three brothers of Dara were differently employed. Shuja was exacting money and levying troops in Bengal; he was preparing for the coming war. Murád was hunting and shooting in Guzerat; he was the most open of the three. Aurungzeb was meditating deeper schemes. Outwardly he devoted himself to religion. He built mosques; he mingled with Fakírs; he affected to despise the world. He was almost malignant in his austerities. He assembled all the Fakírs of the country; he knew they kept gold mohurs in their dirty rags; he persisted in giving them new clothes and burning all their old rags. Many resisted; Aurungzeb was firm; he is said to have found quantities of gold amongst the cinders.

Rise of Amír Jumla.

Meantime an adventurer named Amír Jumla was beginning to play a part in history. Amír Jumla was a type of the so-called Moghul Amírs of the time. He was a Persian by birth; his father was said to be an oil-seller; he came to India as the servant of a merchant. His Persian complexion was his fortune. He entered the Moghul army; he rose to the highest posts. He was insulted by Dara. He left the Moghul army and entered the

[51] Dara had a favourite slave, a minion of the vilest type. Whenever a minister or general was praised in his presence, he praised the slave. Such insolence could never be forgiven or forgotten.

CHAPTER VI. service of the Sultan of Golkonda. He was appointed collector of the customs; he traded on his own account; he acquired great wealth. He practised the sure way of promotion in oriental courts; he made constant presents to the Sultan,—rarities from Europe, cabinets from China, elephants from Ceylon. He rose to the rank of prime minister. He engaged in an amour with the queen mother. The Sultan discovered the intrigue; he stopped the scandal by sending Amír Jumla to command the territories he had conquered in the Karnatic plain.

Proceedings in the Karnatic.

Amír Jumla turned his disgrace to his advantage. The diamond mines were within his province; he worked them to his own profit; he kept all the larger ones; he sent only refuse to the Sultan. He sent diamonds to the Portuguese envoy at Goa; he thus secured an asylum at Goa. He kept up a strong corps of Christian artillerymen. He placed no limits to his peculations. He plundered the temples; he compelled the Hindús to surrender all their gold and jewels; he flogged to death those who buried their treasures.

Tavernier's meeting with Amír Jumla.

In 1652 Tavernier, the jeweller, saw Amír Jumla at Gandikot near the river Penar. The Amír had just captured Gandikot. He had taken idols of gold and silver out of the pagoda and melted them down. He had taken out six idols of brass, ten feet high; he wanted to make them into cannon; they would not melt. He threatened to hang the Bráhmans for enchanting the idols; it was of no use. A Frenchman in his service made one cannon; it split to pieces on trial. Tavernier did not believe in the diamond mines; he says that Amír Jumla got nothing but discoloured stones.[52]

[52] Tavernier's Travels in India, book i. chap. 18.

Prompt justice.

Amír Jumla administered the affairs of his province in Moghul fashion. He had numerous papers between his toes. He took them out and dictated instructions to two secretaries. He examined offenders, sentenced them on the spot, and ordered instant execution. One man was tried for murder; he had his hands and feet cut off; he was left to perish on the highway. Another man was tried for robbery; he was ripped up and thrown on a dunghill. Two others were beheaded; Tavernier did not hear their crime. Such was the prompt administration of justice in the good old times.[53]

Amír Jumla intrigues with Aurungzeb.

Amír Jumla was unscrupulous and grasping after the manner of Moghuls; he met with the usual fate of such extortioners. His cruelties excited the hatred of the province; his riches excited the envy of the court. The Sultan of Golkonda resolved to recall him; to squeeze him of all his wealth. The queen mother sent timely notice to her lover; she proposed to him to dethrone her son. Amír Jumla bethought him of Aurungzeb; he wrote to Aurungzeb to the following effect:—"The time has arrived for conquering the richest kingdom in India: I have served the Moghul: I have entered the service of Golkonda only to help the Moghul: I am in correspondence with a great lady in the harem of Golkonda: I command the army in the Karnatic: My son Muhammad Amír Khan commands the army of Golkonda: If you will invade Golkonda the kingdom is yours."

Feigned embassy to Golkonda.

Aurungzeb was overjoyed at this letter. The Sunní prince hated the Shíah Sultan. Aurungzeb saw plainly that if he got possession of Golkonda it

[53] Tavernier's Travels in India, book i. chap. 18.

CHAPTER VI. would help him to get possession of Hindustan. He was not inclined to invade Golkonda. He resolved to go as an ambassador from himself; to surprise and seize the Sultan in his own capital. He gave out that he was going to Bengal to betroth his son Mahmúd to a daughter of his brother Shuja. He went with a strong escort to the city of Hyderabad. He arranged with the son of Amír Jumla to seize the Sultan at the first audience.

Flight of the Sultan.

The Sultan discovered the trap. He was powerless. He fled to the fortress of Golkonda, three miles off. Aurungzeb was outwitted. He plundered the city and palace. He was joined by Amír Jumla; he besieged Golkonda. The Sultan was reduced to extremity; he was about to surrender; his life was to be spared; he was to receive the rank of Raja at the court of the Moghul. Suddenly Aurungzeb received orders from Delhi; he was to raise the siege; he was to return to his province without delay.

Recall of Aurungzeb.

Dara had taken fright at Aurungzeb's operations in the Dekhan. He suspected that Aurungzeb would make Golkonda a stepping-stone to Hindustan. He sacrificed the conquest rather than see the aggrandizement of Aurungzeb.

Treaty with Golkonda.

Aurungzeb obeyed the orders; he said nothing about them. He proclaimed that he shrank from making war upon a brother Mussulman. He reinstated the Sultan on hard terms. The Sultan was to pay all the expenses of the war; he was to give his daughter in marriage to Mahmúd, the son of Aurungzeb; he was to give his frontier province of Ramghur as dowry to his daughter; he was to be succeeded upon the throne by his son-in-law Mah-

múd; he was to coin all money in the name of Shah Jehan; he was to permit Amír Jumla to leave the kingdom with all his wealth and family. CHAPTER VI.

Aurungzeb and Amír Jumla.

Aurungzeb and Amír Jumla became close friends. They both hated Dara; each could be useful to the other. Aurungzeb tried to keep Amír Jumla in the Dekhan. He begged that Amír Jumla might command an army for the conquest of Bíjápur. Amír Jumla on his part sent rich presents to Shah Jehan. The presents prevailed; Amír Jumla got the command. Dara checkmated Aurungzeb. Amír Jumla was to send his wife and children to court as hostages for his loyalty. Aurungzeb was to remain in his own province; he was to take no part in the war against Bíjápur.

Ambition of Aurungzeb.

The conditions were accepted. Aurungzeb came to a thorough understanding with Amír Jumla. He complained that Dara was a jealous tyrant; that Shah Jehan was the slave of Dara; that Shah Jehan had ceased to be a father to his other sons. He begged Amír Jumla to be a father to him. Amír Jumla answered in like manner; he would do his utmost to help Aurungzeb to the throne. This convention was kept a profound secret; it was soon to show itself in action. Aurungzeb remained at Aurungabad; he fixed his head-quarters at this city; it was called after his own name. At Aurungabad he flaunted his piety in the eyes of all men. Amír Jumla invaded Bíjápur; he captured some towns; he was engaged for months in besieging the old fortress of Bíder.

Shah Jehan's sickness.

Suddenly it was noised abroad that Shah Jehan was dying; next it was told that he was dead. His sickness was in keeping with his life. He was

CHAPTER VI. too old for his pleasures; he recruited himself with strong medicines; they brought him to the verge of the grave.

The ferment: Shuja revolts.

Meantime the empire was in a ferment. Shuja, the most impetuous of the sons of Shah Jehan, was the first to take the field. Bengal was the wealthiest province of the empire. Shuja had kept forty thousand horsemen in readiness; he had filled his coffers by plundering some Bengal Rajas and ruining others; he had camels loaded with gold mohurs. He was soon on the road to Delhi. As he mounted his horse he waved his scimitar and cried out,—"Death or the throne." He pushed on by the great road to Agra. He proclaimed that Dara had poisoned Shah Jehan; he was going to Delhi to revenge the death of his father.

Shah Jehan's letter.

Shah Jehan was beginning to recover; he was still very ill; he was told that Shuja was marching to Delhi. He was exceedingly angry; he wrote a crafty letter to Shuja:—"I have recovered from my sickness; it was not brought about by Dara: I am obliged by your affection: I beg you to return at once to Bengal; by strict obedience you may atone for the hasty measure into which you have been hurried."

Shuja approaches Agra.

Shuja received the letter on his march. It was accompanied by other letters from his spies saying that his father's malady was mortal; that his presence at Delhi was of crying importance. He said nothing about his father's letter; he hastened on all the faster. Meantime an army was sent against Shuja. Shah Jehan was very ill; he removed from Delhi to Agra.

The imperial army was commanded by Sulai-

man, the eldest son of Dara. It was composed of Afghans and Rajpoots. The Afghans were commanded by Dalil Khan an Afghan; the Afghans would glory in fighting against a Shiah like Shuja.[54] The Rajpoots were commanded by Jai Singh of Jaipur. Jai Singh had not forgotten the insult of Dara; he was by no means anxious to defeat Shuja; he is said to have been instructed by Shah Jehan to avoid a battle. CHAPTER VI. Imperial army: Afghans and Rajpoots.

Jai Singh wrote as follows to Shuja:—"Your affection for your father is beyond all praise: You have proved your valour by marching against an army far superior to your own: But your father still lives: It would be dishonourable in you to fight against his faithful subjects: Return at once to Bengal: Courage is never esteemed if it is accompanied by crime." Jai Singh's letter to Shuja.

Shuja deliberated for awhile; he then resolved on revolt. He concealed his intention; he tried to deceive the imperial army. He wrote back to Jai Singh:—"I quitted Bengal only to avenge my father: as Shah Jehan is still living, I will return to Bengal: I only ask that you retire first: It is not meet that I should seem to fly from you: I exact this as a mark of respect; I expect it both from you and my nephew Sulaiman." Artifice of Shuja.

Jai Singh knew that the letter was an artifice; he knew that Shuja only wanted to surprise the imperial army, and to attack it in its retreat. He was Bamboozled by Jai Singh.

[54] Father Catrou speaks of the force under Dalil Khan as being composed of Mussulmans. It is doubtful whether it included Moghuls; it is doubtful whether Moghul Shiahs could be trusted to fight against Shuja. As the force was commanded by an Afghan it is reasonable to suppose that it was composed of Afghans, or Sunnis. This would account for their alacrity to fight against Shuja.

CHAPTER VI. a match for Shuja; he ordered a retreat. At day-break the baggage was on the move to Delhi; a few useless footmen were also sent back. The spies of Shuja were deceived; they advised Shuja that the imperial army was going back to Delhi.

Defeat of Shuja: by-play of Jai Singh.

In reality the imperial army was in battle array. Shuja attacked some squadrons; he took them for a rear-guard. He soon found that he had been over-reached. The imperial cavalry charged him with fury. His forces were thrown into disorder; he could not rally them. His guns and elephants were captured; many of his troops were taken prisoners. He was obliged to retreat to Bengal. Jai Singh refused to pursue him; he was afraid to take Shuja prisoner; Shuja would have been pardoned; he would have hated Jai Singh for life. Moreover Jai Singh remembered that Dara had called him a musician. Shuja retired with the wreck of his army into Bengal; to save appearances the army of Sulaiman followed at a distance behind.

Aurungzeb hoodwinks Murád.

Whilst Shuja was making a bold stroke for the throne, Aurungzeb was biding his time. The crafty Sunní was not going to commit himself; he knew what was going on; he waited for both his brothers to revolt. Presently he heard that Murád was on the march for Delhi. He wrote to Murád to the following effect:—"You know that I have resolved to spend my life in penitence and prayer; the splendour of this world has no charms for me: My only desire is to establish the worship of the true God and the law of his prophet: You alone of all my brothers are jealous for the Koran: Dara is impious; he hankers after the religion of Europe: Shuja is a heretic; he is in league with the Shahs

of Persia: I will not suffer impiety or heresy to sit upon the throne: You are a true Mussulman, a staunch Sunní, the defender of the faithful: You alone are worthy to wear the crown: I salute you as my sovereign: Suffer me to join my troops with yours; to help you to defend the righteous cause; to combat with you for our religion: I shall ask for only one recompense: When the victory is won you must permit me to spend the remainder of my days near the tomb of our holy prophet at Medina."

Murád's blindness.

Murád was overjoyed at this letter. He was warned to beware of Aurungzeb; he was deaf to all advice. He replied in the same strain:—"We have always been friends; we must unite to defend our religion from impiety and heresy: I swear by the great prophet that I will always respect you as my father."

Aurungzeb's craft with Amír Jumla.

Meantime Aurungzeb had gained an army. He begged Amír Jumla to join him from Bíjápur. Amír Jumla was powerless; his wife and children were in the hands of Dara; if he helped Aurungzeb they would be slaughtered. Craft was tried. There was a sham mutiny in the army of Amír Jumla. The officers feigned to rebel; they feigned to carry Amír Jumla as a prisoner to Aurungzeb. Amír Jumla allowed himself to be imprisoned in the fortress at Aurungabad. The Moghul court was deceived; it was sorry for Amír Jumla. In reality Amír Jumla was staking his life and fortune on the success of Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb leaves the Dekhan.

Thus reinforced Aurungzeb prepared to join Murád. Before he left Aurungabad he made another show of piety. He took the Koran in his hand in the presence of his army; he pressed it devoutly to

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his heart. He cried out with a loud voice:—"I am going to defend the Koran: The infidel Dara has treated it with contempt; I am going to avenge it: It is for this that I break the peace that ought to reign between brothers." He told every one that Shah Jehan was dead. He allowed no letter to enter the Dekhan that hinted that Shah Jehan was alive.

Joins Murád at Mandu.

All this while Aurungzeb wrote to Murád as to his sovereign. He professed the most profound obedience to Murád. The two armies formed a junction near Mandu. Aurungzeb dismounted from his elephant; he prostrated himself before his younger brother. From that day he treated Murád as Padishah. He took the orders of Murád as regards the army. In this way the united armies pushed on through Rajpootana.

Alarm of Dara.

Dara had rejoiced at the victory of his son Sulaiman. He was now alarmed at the movements of Aurungzeb and Murád. He wrote to both the brothers that Shah Jehan was still alive; he warned them against disobedience to their sovereign and father.

Scruples of Murád quieted by Aurungzeb.

Murád was startled by the news that Shah Jehan was alive; he began to waver. Aurungzeb soon quieted him; he spoke to Murád as follows:—"Shah Jehan is dead; the story that he is alive is the artifice of Dara: If we go back the murderer will secure the throne; the parricide will wreak his vengeance upon us and our children: If we go forward you may gain the empire: If Shah Jehan is alive we will submit to him; he will be assured of our affection from our impatience to avenge him."

Murád was persuaded by the words of Aurung-

zeb. Indeed no one believed that Shah Jehan was alive. At Delhi the people were satisfied he was dead. At Agra Shah Jehan showed himself; still the people disbelieved; they said it was a phantom of the Padishah.

Plan of Shah Jehan.

Meantime an imperial army was despatched against the brothers. Shah Jehan was anxious to take the field; to show himself to the soldiers; to disarm his children by his presence. Had he gone Murád would have left Aurungzeb. The secret friends of Aurungzeb did all they could to prevent him. Khalil Khan was amongst the number; his wife was one of Shah Jehan's favourites; at heart he was bent on revenging the shame; in speech he was still devoted to the Padishah. "Shah Jehan," he said, "is in weak health; if he goes with the army he may die; his presence will not disarm his sons: They are daring enough to rebel against him; they will be daring enough to fight against him." It is said that Khalil Khan induced his wife and the Begum Sahib to keep Shah Jehan at Agra.

Army of the imperialists.

Dara would not leave his father. He appointed Kasim Khan to command the Mussulmans;[55] Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur to command the Rajpoots. Kasim Khan was a dangerous man; he had been insulted by Dara; he was in secret correspondence with Aurungzeb.

Defeat of the imperialists at Ujain.

The rebel army marched from Mandu northward to Ujain. The way ran along a defile; it was environed by forest and mountain. Had the defile been blocked up with imperialists, the rebels could

[55] It is not stated whether Kasim Khan was an Afghan or otherwise. The army under his command refused to fight against Aurungzeb and Murád; it may therefore be inferred that it was composed of Sunnís.

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not have forced a passage. The rebels faced the imperialists on the Ujain river. The hot season was at its height; the river was fordable; the rebel army crossed over. Kasim Khan hung aloof; he never fired a gun; he is said to have concealed the ammunition. The whole brunt of the battle fell upon the Rajpoots; they were cut to pieces. Jaswant Singh escaped with a handful of followers.[56] Aurungzeb captured all the artillery and baggage.

Wrath of Dara.

Dara was frantic at the defeat. He wrung his hands in agony; he stamped with rage; he cursed Kasim Khan. He next cursed Amír Jumla. "That traitor," he cried, "is the cause of all our misfortunes: Had he not surrendered his army to Aurungzeb, the princes could never have dared to rebel." Dara ordered the wife and family of the Amír to be put to death. Shah Jehan persuaded him to recall the order; it would have thrown Amír Jumla into the arms of Aurungzeb.[57]

Rebels advance to Agra: Shah Jehan abdicates to Dara.

Aurungzeb and Murád were proud of their success; they pushed on towards Agra. All malcontents joined them; most of the friends of Aurungzeb joined them; a few only stayed behind to report what was going on at Agra. Shah Jehan was betrayed on all sides. In his terror he made over his authority to Dara. He commanded his people to acknowledge no Padishah but Dara. The step was fatal to Shah Jehan; it unsettled the public mind; it destroyed the prestige of his name. A few nobles

[56] The Rajpoots would not fight against Shuja; they fought bravely against Aurungzeb and Murád. Shuja was a lax Shiah; he kept up a correspondence with the Rajpoot princes. Aurungzeb was a Sunní; he hated idolaters.

[57] Bernier says that Dara wanted to force the wife and daughters of Amír Jumla to become prostitutes in the bazar. Such revenge was not uncommon under Moghul rule.

might have stood by Shah Jehan; they were all rebels at heart against Dara. The people were loyal to the old Padishah; they were indifferent to the new one. CHAPTER VI.

Disaffection and treachery.

The desertion of the nobles did not prevent Dara from raising an immense army. He opened the imperial treasury; he enlisted a hundred thousand horsemen and fifty thousand foot. He took a hundred cannon out of the arsenal at Agra. His corps of artillery was composed of Europeans. Sixty elephants carried small pieces in their howdahs.

Dara leaves Agra.

Dara's army was vast enough to force a victory. It marched out of Agra in great pomp. Men of experience shook their heads. The officers hated Dara; many were disloyal to Shah Jehan. Khalil Khan was second in command to Dara. He smarted under his wife's dishonour. The troops were raw levies; the flower of the imperial army had gone with Sulaiman into Bengal. Jai Singh was being revenged on Dara; he dissuaded Sulaiman from returning to Agra. The only man who shut his eyes to all these dangers was Dara. He thought that all his officers were faithful. He relied on Khalil Khan; the injured husband was soon in secret correspondence with Aurungzeb. The Rajpoots were still faithful to Shah Jehan; they were commanded by Ram Singh.[58]

Encampment on the Chambal river.

Dara waited for Sulaiman outside Agra. The camp was like a city. The imperial pavilions, covered with gold brocade, were placed in the centre. At all quarters the pavilions of the officers towered

[58] This Ram Singh was evidently a Rajpoot prince; Catrou does not mention the name of the Rajpoot state to which Ram Singh belonged.

CHAPTER VI. above the tents of the soldiers. At last Dara could wait no longer. He marched southward to the Chambal river. The squadrons moved like the waves of a great sea; the steel of their javelins sparkled like the sun's rays upon the waters. The army encamped on the bank of the Chambal. Dara again waited for the coming of Sulaiman. Meantime he prepared to dispute the passage of the river with the rebel armies. He fortified the bank with his artillery; he thought his position was impregnable.

Strategy of Aurungzeb.

The rebel armies soon appeared on the opposite bank. Aurungzeb saw that he could not force a passage. He called his chief officers; he conjured them to keep in readiness; at any hour he might want them to cross the river; he must force a passage before the arrival of Sulaiman, or else beat a retreat. As he expected, his words were reported to Dara. Dara kept on the alert; but only as far as the passage was concerned. Meanwhile Aurungzeb was secretly negotiating with Champat of Bundelkund. Champat was still unsubdued by Shah Jehan. He readily offered Aurungzeb a passage through his territory. Dara was deceived. Whilst he was expecting an attack, Aurungzeb was seeking the aid of Champat of Bundelkund. Champat was still an independent Rája. He was ready to help the rebels. Aurungzeb marched through Champat's territory in the night time. He crossed the Chambal; he entrenched his army; he waited for the coming of Murád. Dara was outwitted. His spies sent him the news; there was still time to thwart Aurungzeb. He sent a strong force to dispute the passage; he gave the command to Khalil Khan,

Treachery of Khalil Khan.

The treachery of Khalil Khan was enormous. He permitted Aurungzeb to entrench his army; he then went back to Dara; he told Dara that the position of Aurungzeb was unassailable.

Battle on the Chambal: Dara befooled.

At length Aurungzeb and Murád advanced their united armies against the army of Dara. Khalil Khan directed the artillery; he also commanded the right wing of the army. He drew up his artillery in a long line in front of the troops. He had arranged everything with Aurungzeb. He kept up a terrible fire so long as the rebels were out of reach. Dara was so blinded by the smoke and dust that he could not see what was going on. Presently three discharges of artillery came from Aurungzeb. This was the signal that he was advancing against the imperial army. Khalil Khan told Dara that the rebel army was cut to pieces by the imperial artillery; that it was very weak in artillery; that it had only fired three discharges. "Now," he said, "is the time for charging the enemy."

Cavalry charge against artillery.

Dara ordered the charge. Dara was opposed to Aurungzeb; Khalil Khan to Mahmúd; Ram Singh to Murád. As the imperial cavalry approached the rebels, Aurungzeb opened fire. The imperialists were mowed down by the rebel cannon.[59] At last they came to hand-to-hand conflict. Dara fought with desperate valour. He would have taken Aurungzeb prisoner, but for the treachery of Khalil Khan. The traitor had only made a show of fighting; he pretended that his own

[59] The charge of Dara's army against the artillery of Aurungzeb resembled the famous cavalry charge at Balaklava. Had the artillery of Aurungzeb been as well served as the Russian guns at Balaklava, the army of Dara would have shared the fate of the "Six hundred."

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division was in danger; he called on Dara to help him. Dara thus lost his hold on Aurungzeb.

Death of Ram Singh: flight of the Rajpoots.

Meantime Ram Singh and his Rajpoots had charged Murád. Ram Singh engaged Murád in single combat. Murád seated on his elephant threw darts at Ram Singh. The Rajpoot mounted on his horse shot arrows at Murád. At last Ram Singh emptied his quiver. He dismounted from his horse; he tried to pierce Murád's elephant under the belly. Murád struck him down with a javelin. The elephant caught the Rajpoot with his trunk, dashed his head against the ground, and trampled him to death. The Rajpoots lost heart at the death of their leader. They fled in all directions. Dara tried to rally them; all was in vain. The Rajpoots obey no voice but that of their Raja.

Dara dismounts from his elephant: loses the battle.

Notwithstanding the flight of the Rajpoots, Dara had still enough troops to gain the victory. He repulsed the charges of the rebels; he was winning the day; he lost it through the perfidy of Khalil Khan. Dara was mounted on an elephant. Khalil Khan told him that the enemy was routed; that he need not expose himself longer to the arrows; that he had better mount his horse, and pursue the enemy. In an evil moment Dara followed the counsel; he dismounted from his elephant; he mounted his horse. The troops saw that he was not on his elephant; they thought he was killed; they were seized with a panic; they fled in all directions. Amidst the disorder Khalil Khan went over to Aurungzeb, followed by thirty thousand Moghuls.

Flight of Dara to Agra, Delhi, and Lahore.

The battle on the Chambal had lasted ten hours. At seven o'clock in the morning Dara commanded an immense army; at five o'clock in the afternoon

he was flying to Agra with a handful of followers. CHAPTER VI.
He could do nothing but curse and swear at Khalil Khan. He would not stop at Agra; he hurried on to Delhi; the governor shut the fortress against him. He went on to Lahore; there he got on better. Shah Jehan sent him ten camels loaded with rupees and gold mohurs. He began to collect the wreck of his army.

Moderation of Aurungzeb: deference to Murád.

Aurungzeb had gained the victory; his moderation was the admiration of all men. He captured the imperial camp and baggage. He made over the imperial pavilions to Murád. He retired to a tent and engaged in prayer. He entered his brother's tent with the Koran in his hand. He presented Khalil Khan to Murád. He said:—"It is to God, to yourself, and to this faithful friend, that we owe the victory: I have returned thanks for the preservation of Islam; I now prostrate myself before my sovereign: Place all your trust in the faithful Khalil Khan: I will wait for a third victory to place you on the throne: I shall then devote the rest of my days to meditation and prayer."

Activity of Aurungzeb: flight of Sulaiman to Kashmir.

Such was the language of Aurungzeb in public. In private he was working to gain his own ends. He recommended Khalil Khan to Murád in order to know his brother's secrets. Day and night he was sending despatches to his friends at Agra; to the viceroys of provinces; to the governors of fortresses. Dalil Khan and Jai Singh had gone with Sulaiman into Bengal; Aurungzeb wrote letters to both; he ordered them to put Sulaiman to death, or send him in chains to the camp. Neither the Afghan nor the Rajpoot would murder a prince of the imperial blood; neither would deliver up Sulaiman to his

CHAPTER VI. enemies. They told Sulaiman of his father's defeat; they advised him to fly to the mountains. Sulaiman saw his danger; he fled to Kashmír with a small escort. Dalil Khan and Jai Singh prepared to join Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb and Murád at Agra: message to Shah Jehan.

Shortly after the battle Aurungzeb and Murád advanced to Agra. They pitched their camp near the imperial gardens, within two miles of the city. Aurungzeb played a solemn farce. He sent a faithful eunuch to make a set speech to Shah Jehan. The eunuch spoke thus to the Padishah:—"Your sons have not made war out of ambition or disobedience: They know how to respect their father and their sovereign: They appealed to arms because Dara was a tyrant. They heard rumours of your death; they desired to avenge it: Happily you are still alive: I am come in their name to acknowledge you as their sovereign: Justice demands that you should distinguish between the son who is hated by all the nobles, and the sons who are worthy of your esteem."

Shah Jehan's reply.

Shah Jehan was equal to the occasion; his reply was equally as insincere. "Assure my children," he said, "of my affection for them; their disobedience has not extinguished it: Tell them to dismiss their armies; to come and implore my forgiveness; they shall then feel my clemency."

Treachery and artifice.

Aurungzeb knew the meaning of these words. His sister, Royshan Rai Begum, had sent him a warning message from the harem:—"If you enter the palace you will be murdered by the Tartar women." Aurungzeb met artifice by artifice. He gave out that he was about to visit his father, to be reconciled to his father, to submit to his father. He

postponed the visit from day to day. Meantime he had gained over every grandee. He ordered his son Mahmúd to blockade the palace. CHAPTER VI.

Siege of the palace at Agra.

Shah Jehan saw from the towers of his palace that it was being invested. He planted cannon on his ramparts; they did little execution. Mahmúd raised a battery and fired against the palace walls. Aurungzeb tried another dodge. He sent the eunuch with another message to Shah Jehan. He said that he was very sick; the troops had attacked the palace without his orders. He begged that his son Mahmúd might tender his submission to Shah Jehan. When his health improved he would pay his respects in person.

Mahmúd visits Shah Jehan.

Shah Jehan agreed to the visit of his grandson. He prepared costly gifts for Mahmúd; they were the bait by which he hoped to ensnare Aurungzeb. Mahmúd entered the fortress. He gained over the soldiers of the watch; he became master of the palace without difficulty. He entered the interior with a strong escort. He slaughtered every one he met,—soldiers, women, slaves, and eunuchs. He entered the chamber of Shah Jehan. The Tartar women were standing round. Smooth language was laid aside. Mahmúd spoke out the demands of Aurungzeb:—"Your great age, my lord, has rendered you incapable of reigning: Retire with your wives into the palace gardens: Pass the remainder of your days in tranquillity: We do not grudge you the light of day: But you dishonour the throne; you must resign it to your children."

Shah Jehan retires.

At these words the Tartar women raised a great shout. Mahmúd was too strong for them. Shah Jehan yielded to force. He retired with his women

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to the garden pavilions without the circuit of the fortress.

Shah Jehan offers the crown to Mahmúd.

Shah Jehan lived as a captive in a country palace; he was surrounded only by women. He had one last game to play; it might have cost Aurungzeb the empire. He invited Mahmúd to pay him a second visit. He spoke to Mahmúd as follows:—"I have been dethroned by my rebellious children: I place my crown in your hands: It is for you to become Padishah and avenge my cause: You command an army; you are master of Agra: Throw off your servitude to Aurungzeb; he dethroned his father; he will not spare his son."

Mahmúd refuses: Aurungzeb master.

Mahmúd was taken aback by the offer of the throne. For a moment he wavered. He was afraid of his father; he could not trust his grandfather. He resisted the temptation. He refused the crown. He forced Shah Jehan to make over all the palace keys. Henceforth Aurungzeb was master. He walled up gates; he guarded every entrance. Henceforth Shah Jehan and his harem were barred off from the outer world; henceforth the outer world knew nothing of Shah Jehan.

Letter of Shah Jehan to Dara.

About this time some of the grandees began to pity Shah Jehan. Aurungzeb sought to allay this feeling; he produced a letter purporting to have been written by Shah Jehan to Dara. It told Dara that Aurungzeb and Murád had promised to visit the palace; that both were to be murdered; that he had better march at once on Agra. Whether this letter was real or counterfeit can never be known. Shah Jehan was capable of writing it; Aurungzeb was capable of forging it. It was delivered to Aurungzeb whilst he was sur-

rounded by his chief officers; it was said to have been intercepted by his own vigilance. Whether real or counterfeit it was a success. Every one feigned to be horrified at the crime of Shah Jehan; every one extolled the prudence of Aurungzeb.

Shaishta Khan governor of Agra: pursuit of Dara.

The two brothers now began to dispose of the public employments. All orders were issued in their joint names. Their uncle Shaishta Khan was appointed governor of Agra. They divided the treasury and revenues. The liberality of Aurungzeb was unbounded. He rewarded former friends; he bought over new ones. Agra was tranquil. The two brothers resolved to leave Agra; to march their armies in pursuit of Dara.

Delusion of Murád.

The friends of Murád were unwilling that he should accompany Aurungzeb. "Your presence," they said, "is needed at Agra: You ought to be at hand to prevent a rising: Do not go away on any hazardous enterprise." Murád was gulled by Aurungzeb. He believed all the promises of Aurungzeb. He was impetuous and fond of glory. He went away with Aurungzeb towards Delhi. The two armies halted at Mathura.

Encampment at Mathura.

There is a magnificent mosque at Mathura; it was built upon a hill by the old Mussulman sovereigns. Aurungzeb told Murád that he should be crowned in front of this mosque. The two armies encamped on opposite banks of the river Jumna; they communicated with each other by bridges. Aurungzeb visited his brother every morning and evening. He talked of nothing but the coronation. He deferred it from day to day on various pretences. The imperial tents were not finished; the presents were not ready; the new clothes for the army were

CHAPTER VI. not all made; the harness for horses and elephants was not complete. Murád waited patiently; he was in no hurry for a ceremony of which he was sure.

Contrast between the two armies.

All this while there was a marked difference in the discipline of the two camps. The army of Murád was devoted to pleasure. The officers feasted and drank wine; they amused themselves with musicians, play-actors, and dancing-girls. The army of Aurungzeb was puritanical. Prayers were said three times a day. The officers took their cue from Aurungzeb. They discoursed with their soldiers on the piety of Aurungzeb; how happy would they be to have a sovereign like Aurungzeb.

Preparations for crowning Murád.

At last a day was fixed for the coronation of Murád. A platform was raised in front of the mosque; there Murád was to take his seat upon the throne; there he was to receive the turban and sabre from the hands of the Kází, the Chief Judge of the empire. Tents of gold brocade were set up in the plain around. Murád was blinded by these preparations; he had no suspicion that anything was wrong.

Eve of the coronation.

The evening before the ceremony Aurungzeb feigned sickness. He invited Murád to come to his tent to consult the astrologers. Murád had a faithful eunuch named Shah Abbas; this man tried in vain to warn him against Aurungzeb. Murád was infatuated. He crossed the river; he entered the camp of Aurungzeb, followed by Shah Abbas and some of his own officers. On the way an officer besought him to beware of Aurungzeb. Murád was offended at the freedom. He entered the tent of Aurungzeb; he was received by the Kází. Aurungzeb appeared with his generals. He treated Murád

with marked respect. He seated Murád in the place of honour; he fanned his brother; he repeatedly addressed him as his master, his lord, and his sovereign. A grand repast was served up; for the first time Aurungzeb allowed the use of wine. The two brothers sat in a tent by themselves. The officers of Murád were feasted by the generals of Aurungzeb in a distant tent. Shah Abbas alone remained near his master.

Murád feasted by Aurungzeb.

The two princes were amused with musicians and dancers. Aurungzeb never put off the air of piety; he drank nothing but water. Murád was less scrupulous; he drank wine to excess; he fell into a drunken sleep. Shah Abbas conducted him to a neighbouring tent; he sat at the foot of the bed whilst his master slept. Presently he saw Aurungzeb approach the tent with his little grandson Azam. Aurungzeb, as if in pleasantry, offered Azam a jewel if he could bring away the sabre and poniard of Murád without awaking him. The child brought away the weapons. At that moment six of Aurungzeb's guards appeared with chains. Murád started with the noise; he tried to seize his sabre; he began to shriek; the men gagged him with their hands. Aurungzeb then stood forward; he raised his hands to heaven; he spoke in a solemn voice:—"The law of Muhammad must be avenged: The drunkard who broke it is unfitted for a throne: Bind him in fetters and carry him away." Murád was loaded with silver chains. Shah Abbas was bound in iron chains. They were packed off on separate elephants; the prince was sent to Delhi; the eunuch was sent to Agra. As Murád departed he said to Aurungzeb:—"Are these the oaths you

Murád's drunkenness: sudden arrest.

CHAPTER VI. have sworn on the Koran?" Not another word was heard. No one but the chosen few knew that anything had occurred.

Aurungzeb proclaimed Padishah.

All that night the musicians continued to play in the tent of Aurungzeb. At day-break the two armies assembled in the plain to witness the coronation of Murád. The troops had been ordered to attend without arms; the order excited no suspicions; the troops thought it was issued to prevent broils. Every one waited for Murád. Presently squadrons of Aurungzeb's horse began to surround the plain; the horsemen were fully armed. At that moment certain persons, posted for the purpose, cried out:—"Long live the Emperor Aurungzeb!" The thoughtless soldiers echoed on the cry. The two armies exclaimed:—"Long live the Emperor Aurungzeb!" Presently Aurungzeb appeared upon the platform; he sat upon the throne for a moment; he then withdrew from the scene.

No opposition.

Henceforth Aurungzeb was Padishah. The change was sudden and startling. There was no movement; no one cared; nothing occurred. Aurungzeb had provided against any opposition from Murád's army; he had won over most of the officers; he guarded those whom he could not corrupt. At such moments Hindús are passive; they accept a revolution as the hand-work of fate. Aurungzeb gained the throne by an intrigue which has no example in recorded history. Murád was blotted out. He became a prisoner for life in the fortress of Gwalior.

Aurungzeb pursues Dara: recalled to Agra.

Aurungzeb had ascended the throne in the presence of the army; other rivals were still in the field. Dara commanded an army in the Punjab;

Shuja commanded another army in Bengal. Aurungzeb marched against Dara. As he approached the Punjab the army of Dara fled away in terror. Dara could only seek to escape to Persia like his ancestor Humáyun. On the land side Persia was barred against him; the governors of Multan and Kábul were partisans of Aurungzeb. The only way of escape was down the Indus to the sea. Fortunately one important friend was still staunch to Dara. This was a eunuch whose name is unknown.[60] The eunuch commanded the fortress of Bukkur on the Indus. Bukkur was situaed on an island below the junction of the five rivers; at this place the Indus, swelled by the united streams, spreads out in a wide and deep bed. The eunuch secured the best troops of Dara within this fortress. He transported cannon, powder, and provisions from Lahore. He was determined to hold the fortress against Aurungzeb until Dara escaped to Persia. Dara recovered heart; he went down the Indus; he found a refuge at Ahmadabad in Guzerat; he waited for an opportunity of sailing to the Persian Gulf. Aurungzeb went on towards Bukkur. Suddenly he was called away to the other extremity of the empire. Shuja was again marching an army to Agra; he gave out that he was going to deliver his father Shah Jehan and his brother Murád from their captivity. Aurungzeb saw that the movement was dangerous in the extreme. He left his army to besiege Bukkur under the command of an officer named Bahadur Khan. He flew towards Agra with a small escort. At Agra

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[60] The eunuch had been a favourite of Dara. His master had given him the name of "The Flower of the Spring." Eunuchs have played an important part in Asiatic affairs from a remote antiquity. It would be difficult to say more upon a subject so foreign to European sentiments.

CHAPTER VI. he would find an army under the command of his son Mahmúd.

Meeting between Aurungzeb and Jai Singh.

On the march Aurungzeb encountered an unexpected peril. Raja Jai Singh met him with an army of ten thousand Rajpoots. Jai Singh had abandoned Sulaiman; he had determined on joining the conqueror. He was startled at seeing Aurungzeb with a small escort. He took it for granted that Aurungzeb was defeated; that Aurungzeb was flying from Dara. The sight of Aurungzeb vanquished created a revolution in his mind. He saw that it would be to his interest to murder Aurungzeb and release Shah Jehan. Aurungzeb knew by instinct all that was going on in the mind of the Rajpoot. He knew that nothing could save him but a bold face. He passed through the ranks of the Rajpoots; he approached Jai Singh; he spoke out fearlessly:—"Our common enemy is utterly beaten; Dara has fled to find his death in Guzerat; I have ceased to pursue him: I am going against another rebel: You defeated Shuja once; I am going to defeat him again: Come with me, Raja: The army you have brought to fight Dara, shall now fight against Shuja."

Jai Singh won over.

The Rajpoot was overcome by the language of Aurungzeb. Instead of killing, the prince Jai Singh again respected him. He still hated Dara; he had not forgotten the insult; by fighting for Aurungzeb he would be revenged on Dara. He placed himself and his Rajpoots under the command of Aurungzeb.

Amír Jumla joins Aurungzeb.

On reaching Agra, Aurungzeb took the command of the army of Mahmúd. He was also joined by Amír Jumla. The wife and children of Amír Jumla had been liberated by the flight of Dara;

Amír Jumla had left the fortress at Aurungabad; he had raised fresh levies in the Dekhan.

Advance to Kajwa.

Aurungzeb marched the united forces from Agra towards Allahabad. On the way he found Shuja entrenched at Kajwa. The position was very strong. Kajwa was a village on the bank of a small lake; there was no other water within a circuit of many miles. The village was environed by forest and mountain. The approach from Agra was a desert of sand. There were no trees, no forage, and no provisions. The hot season was at its height. The army of Aurungzeb was helpless. It was in the presence of the enemy, but the enemy would not come out. The troops suffered agonies. All water had to be brought from the Ganges on the backs of camels; the Ganges was nearly twenty miles off.

Artifice of Amír Jumla.

Amír Jumla saw a way out of the difficulty. He spread a report among his soldiers that the army would decamp at day-break. The rumour reached the camp of Shuja; it deceived Shuja into the belief that Aurungzeb was about to retreat. Next morning there was a dead silence in the camp of Aurungzeb. Not a fire was lighted. The tents were furled as if the camp had been abandoned. Troops, camels and elephants with burdens, were taking the road back to Agra. Shuja mistook them for the rear-guard of Aurungzeb. He led his army out of the natural fortress; he marched through forest and mountains into the open plain to pursue Aurungzeb. The supposed rear-guard faced about and repulsed Shuja. Fresh troops poured out from either camp; the whole of both armies were soon fighting in the open field. Shuja saw that he had been cajoled out of his camp.

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Battle of Kajwa: its significance.

The battle that followed was one of the bloodiest ever fought in India. There was no treachery. Aurungzeb had failed to corrupt a single follower of Shuja. The battle was a death-struggle for the throne; it was also a death-struggle between Sunnís and Shíahs. The Mussulmans in the two armies fought with the fury of fanatics. The two brothers were mounted on elephants; they met each other; they shot arrows at each other. Suddenly Aurungzeb fell back; Shuja pressed after him. The retreat of Aurungzeb was another feint. Shuja's elephant tumbled into a trench, which had been dug for the purpose and covered with branches. Shuja escaped and mounted a horse. The movement lost him the empire. His troops saw that he was no longer on his elephant; they thought he was dead; they fled in terror from the field. Aurungzeb gained the day.

Movement of Jaswant Singh.

The progress of the battle had been watched with eager interest. When Aurungzeb fell back, the news of his death was carried to Agra. Meantime Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur was smarting under his defeat on the Ujain river. His Rajpoot wife had abused him for his cowardice; she had threatened to burn herself on the funeral pile; he had soothed her by swearing to be revenged on Aurungzeb. He heard that Aurungzeb was on the march from Agra to Allahabad. He thought that the moment had come for getting his revenge. He marched out of Jodhpur; he overtook Aurungzeb on the day of the battle; he attacked and plundered the rear of Aurungzeb in the midst of the battle. He heard that Aurungzeb was defeated. He hurried back to Agra with the plunder; he resolved to release Shah Jehan.

Terror at Agra.

Shaista Khan, the governor of Agra, believed that Aurungzeb was dead; so did all the people of Agra. Next they heard that Jaswant Singh was coming with his Rajpoots. The whole city was stricken with terror. Shaista Khan was in a panic of fear. He clutched a cup of poison; his women dashed it to the ground before it reached his lips. By this time Jaswant Singh knew that Aurungzeb was the victor. He rode into Agra; he might have released Shah Jehan with the utmost ease; he did nothing at Agra; he carried off his plunder in safety to Jodhpur.

Anxieties of Aurungzeb: return to Agra.

All this while Aurungzeb was worn out by anxiety. He had dispersed the army of Shuja; he had not conquered him. He was afraid that Jaswant Singh would release Shah Jehan. He was afraid that Jaswant Singh would join Dara. He was forced to return to Agra. He left the army with his friend Amír Jumla and his son Mahmúd. He trusted neither. Amír Jumla had been faithless to the Sultan of Golkonda; he might prove faithless to Aurungzeb. Amír Jumla might conquer Shuja; he would become viceroy of Bengal in his room; he would then convert the province into a kingdom. So Aurungzeb feigned a liking for Muhammad Amír Khan, the son of Amír Jumla; he took the young man with him to Agra; he kept him as a hostage for the fidelity of his father. Aurungzeb played the same game with his son Mahmúd. The young prince was puffed up; he had captured the fortress at Agra; he had refused the imperial crown. He had married the daughter of the Sultan of Golkonda. Aurungzeb kept his daughter-in-law at Agra as a hostage for his son's fidelity. He gave the com-

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mand of the army to Amír Jumla. He reduced Mahmúd to the rank of subaltern.

Mahmúd joins Shuja.

Shuja took up a strong position near Monghír; it was in the same defile where Sher Khan blocked out Humáyun. He laboured to win over Mahmúd. He had betrothed a daughter to Mahmúd. The marriage had been postponed on account of the Golkonda marriage. The Golkonda princess had been kept at Agra. In the absence of his wife, Mahmúd began to think of the fair cousin to whom he was betrothed. He was exasperated beyond measure at his father. Suddenly he left Amír Jumla; he joined Shuja; he married Shuja's daughter. The defection was disastrous to Aurungzeb; it was accompanied by other defections.

Mahmúd's return: imprisoned for life.

Amír Jumla brought it to a close; he excited the suspicions of the uncle against the nephew. Mahmúd found himself watched; he grew frightened; he returned to Amír Jumla; he implored to be forgiven. Aurungzeb was inexorable; he disguised his vindictiveness; he feigned to pardon Mahmúd; he sent him affectionate letters. Mahmúd was sent to Delhi under an escort; he found he was strongly guarded; he tried to escape to Kashmír. No half measures were taken with him; he was placed on the back of an elephant and carried off to Gwalior; he spent the remainder of his days in the fortress of Gwalior.

Aurungzeb at Delhi.

Aurungzeb had a short breathing time. He went on to Delhi; he entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people. He established his court in the palace at Delhi. He coined money in his own name.

Aurungzeb was soon forced to take the field.

Dara defeated and captured.

Jeswant Singh was corresponding with Dara; he promised to help Dara with ten thousand Rajpoots. Dara left Ahmadabad; he marched an army towards Ajmír. Jaswant Singh was won over to Aurungzeb by bribes and promises. At Ajmír Dara discovered that Jaswant Singh had thrown him over; that Aurungzeb was marching from Delhi with an overwhelming army. His own officers turned against him; they betrayed his plans to Aurungzeb. He began a battle; he was beaten by treachery; the fighting was a sham; it is said that his artillery was charged with blank cartridges. He soon fled from the field. He pushed on with his family and a small body of horse towards Guzerat. Many of his followers died on the way from heat and exhaustion; many were pillaged and murdered by robbers. He reached Ahmadabad; he was refused admittance. He toiled northwards through the horrible desert of Scinde.[61] He tried to escape to Kábul; he was betrayed by a treacherous Afghan, whose life he had saved. His favourite wife took poison; she dreaded falling into the hands of Aurungzeb; she shuddered at the idea of becoming the wife of the murderer of her husband. Death put an end to her sufferings.[62] Dara was

[61] Dara had fully expected to find an asylum at Ahmadabad. Bernier was with him at the time; he describes the scene. The message from the governor of Ahmadabad, that the gate would be shut against Dara, reached the party at day-break. It threw them into an agony of fear. The women screamed in terror. Dara was more dead than alive; he spoke sometimes to one and sometimes to another; he stopped and consulted the commonest soldier. The sufferings of those who died in the desert were heart-rending. It would have been better for Dara had he perished in the desert.

[62] Father Catrou states, evidently on the authority of Manouchi, that all Moghul princesses carried poison in their rings; they could thus at any moment put an end to their misfortunes. The wife of Dara had good reason for her fears. Aurungzeb, notwithstanding his piety, had the same polygamous tastes

CHAPTER VI. about to follow her example; suddenly he was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi.

Last days of Dara.

The last days of Dara were spent in the extremity of misery. Aurungzeb had resolved in council to imprison him for life in the fortress of Gwalior. Before doing so it was necessary to prove to all the world that the real Dara had been captured; that he was conquered, degraded, and a prisoner. Dara was paraded on a wretched elephant through the streets and great square at Delhi. He was guarded by the Afghan who had betrayed him. Bernier witnessed the sad procession; he has vividly described the scene. An immense multitude was assembled; shrieks and cries were heard from every quarter. Men, women, and children bewailed the fate of Dara as though some great calamity had befallen them. The whole city was moved; curses were uttered against the Afghan and his followers. Some stones were thrown at them; otherwise no one stirred; no one attempted to rescue Dara. The demonstration, however, was sufficient to alarm Aurungzeb. A second council was held in the palace; it was decided that Dara should die. The wretched prince was not made over to the executioner; he was murdered by hired assassins. His head was cut off and carried to Aurungzeb; it was buried in the tomb of Humáyun.

Dara a Christian.

Father Catrou says that Dara died a Christian. When Dara knew that death was inevitable he

as his predecessors. The old Rajpoot law, under which the wife of the conquered was compelled to surrender herself to the conqueror, seems to have been recognized by the Moghuls. There was nothing to prevent Aurungzeb from taking such sweet revenge. The Koran had abrogated the law; but only as regards the wives of believers. Dara, as already seen, was no Mussulman.

turned to Christianity for consolation. He wanted to speak to Father Busée—a Flemish priest who had formerly instructed him in Roman Catholic Christianity. Aurungzeb forbade the meeting; he was too staunch a Mussulman to allow Dara to become a Christian. Dara was heard to say, more than once:—"Muhammad has destroyed me; Jesus Christ, the Son of the Eternal, will save me." When the assassins entered his chamber, he cried aloud:—"Muhammad gives me death; the Son of God gives me life." They were his last words. At that moment he was cut down and beheaded.

Betrayal of Sulaiman.

Shortly after the death of Dara, his son Sulaiman was betrayed by the Raja of Kashmír. He too was sent as a prisoner to Delhi. By this time Aurungzeb had learnt a lesson. He did not expose Sulaiman to the sympathies of the multitude; he paraded him before the court in an inner hall of the palace. The scene was deeply affecting; Bernier could not keep himself away. Sulaiman was tall and handsome. His hands were bound in golden fetters. In this plight he stood before Aurungzeb and all the grandees of the empire. Many ladies looked at him through a lattice; some might have known him from his infancy. All were moved; behind the lattice there was weeping and wailing. Aurungzeb promised to spare his life. Sulaiman knew that he would be a prisoner; he feared lest he should be slowly poisoned.[63] He made a profound reverence. He said:—"Let me be killed at once if

[63] The poison was a well-known mixture of poppy-juice and water. It was called poust. Every morning a cup was given to the victim; all food was withheld until he had drank it. It took away all sense and intellect. The victim became torpid and idiotic; at last death relieved him. See Bernier.

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I am to drink poust!" Aurungzeb promised in a loud voice that no poust should be given to him. The next day he was sent to the fortress of Gwalior.

Defeat of Shuja: tragedy in Arakan.

Meantime Amír Jumla had carried on the war against Shuja. It soon drew to a close. Shuja fled to Dacca; thence he escaped to Arakan in Portuguese galleys; he was accompanied by his wife, two sons, and three daughters. The King of Arakan was puzzled about Shuja. At first he was hospitable; in time he grew insolent. He demanded a daughter of Shuja in marriage. The request was revolting to the Moghul prince. Shuja tried to raise the Mussulmans of Arakan; to kill the King; to seize the throne of Arakan. The plot was discovered. Shuja fled to the mountains which separate Arakan from Pegu. He was pursued; probably he was murdered; nothing more was heard of him. The King of Arakan took his eldest daughter and made her his wife. The queen-mother wanted the son of Shuja to be her husband. There was another plot to raise the Mussulmans. The King discovered it; he murdered the whole family. The princes were beheaded with blunt axes. The princesses were starved to death; the princess who had become his wife, and was about to become a mother was starved with the others.[64]

Murád accused of murder: opposition to Aurungzeb.

All the brothers of Aurungzeb were dead except Murád. Aurungzeb was anxious for the death of Murád. The prince was charged with having murdered a secretary whilst viceroy of Guzerat. Aurungzeb prepared to try the case. There was a

[64] There are contradictory accounts of these murders. All are horrible. Perhaps Bernier's story is the best-authenticated; the Moghul chronicles were not likely to tell the truth.

difficulty at starting. According to Mussulman law no sovereign could try a capital offence until he had been consecrated by the Chief Judge of the empire.[65] Aurungzeb was the last man to ignore Mussulman law. The Chief Judge had been appointed when Shah Jehan was on the throne; he manfully refused to consecrate a new sovereign whilst Shah Jehan was still living; he denounced Aurungzeb as the murderer of his elder brother. Aurungzeb was taken aback. He convoked an assembly of all the doctors of the law. He set forth that Shah Jehan was unfit to reign; that Dara had been put to death for infidelity and disobedience to the law. He mingled threats with his arguments. The convocation decided that Aurungzeb was the lawful sovereign. The obnoxious Chief Judge was deposed; another doctor was appointed in his room. Aurungzeb was consecrated as Padishah; he ascended the throne in earnest; he received the homage of all the Amírs and Rajas. Murád was found guilty and sentenced to death. He was bitten by a cobra in the fortress of Gwalior.[66]

Accession of Aurungzeb an epoch.

The accession of Aurungzeb is an era in the history of India. It was followed by a revival of the Sunní religion; a return to Mussulman law and the Koran; the establishment of Muftis throughout the empire.[67] It was also followed by Hindú up-

[65] The Chief Judge of the empire was known as the Sadr-i-Jehan, or Chief Kázi. Under Mussulman Sultans the power of this officer was immense; he was the head of religion; the fourth person in the empire. (See Blockmann's Ain-i-Akbari.) The influence of the Sadr-i-Jehan became greatly diminished after Akber had broken up the Ulamá, and forced the existing Sadr-i-Jehan to go to Mecca. Succeeding Sadrs had been members of the "Divine Faith." The Sadr-i-Jehan, who was in power when Aurungzeb usurped the throne, was evidently a staunch Shiah.

[66] Father Catrou's History. Tavernier's Travels in India, book ii. chap. 5.

[67] The Mufti was the officer who inspected all matters that concerned religion.

CHAPTER VI. risings,—Mahratta and Rajpoot. The history of the reign will be told hereafter.

Bernier's description of Moghul administration.

Meantime it may be as well to glance at the working of the Moghul administration. Fortunately Bernier has brought out its main features. He resided many years at Delhi. He travelled through Hindustan and the Dekhan from Kashmír to Golkonda. In 1663 he drew up a report upon the Moghul empire for the information of the French minister Colbert. The working of the Moghul administration may therefore be described almost in the words of Bernier :—

Jaghír and Khalisa lands.

"All the lands of the empire are the property of the sovereign. They are divided into Jaghír lands and Khalisa lands. The Jaghírs are allotments of lands and villages in lieu of pay, and for the maintenance of troops. Every Jaghírdar pays a fixed sum yearly to the sovereign out of the surplus income. The Khalisa lands are the royal domain. They are rarely if ever given in Jaghír. They are let out to Farmers, who pay a yearly rent to the sovereign, and exact what they can out of the cultivator.

Tyranny and cruelty.

"The Jaghírdars and Farmers exercise supreme power in their respective districts. Their authority over the peasantry is almost absolute; it is nearly as absolute over artisans and traders in towns and villages. They are cruel and oppressive to the last degree. The injured peasant, artisan, or trader has no appeal. There are no great lords, no parliaments, no judges of high courts, as there are in

No mention is made of the Mufti during the reigns of Jehangír, or Shah Jehan; they probably had no existence during that period, or were of little weight in the administration. Even the existence of the Kázi is rarely mentioned. In the early part of the reign of Aurungzeb, there was a Mufti and a Kázi in every town. See Tavernier's Travels in the Indies, chap. 10.

France, to restrain the wickedness of the oppressors. There are Kázís, or magistrates, but they have not enough power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people. This abuse of authority is not felt in the same degree near Delhi and Agra, nor in the neighbourhood of large towns and seaports; in those places it is not so easy to conceal acts of gross injustice from the knowledge of the court. CHAPTER VI.

"The people are reduced to a debasing state of slavery. It obstructs trade; it pauperizes the manners and mode of life. If a man makes money he dares not spend it lest he should provoke the cupidity of some tyrant. He does not live in greater comfort; he dares not assume an air of independence; he only studies to appear poor. His dress, his lodging, his furniture, and even his daily food, are all as mean as ever. Meantime he buries his gold at a great depth under-ground. Mussulmans bury their money as well as Hindús. A few individuals, who are protected by the sovereign, or by a powerful Amír, are alone able to enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life. Slavery of the people.

"It is utterly impossible for the Padishah, however well disposed, to control the tyranny which prevails in the provinces. It often deprives peasants and artisans of the necessaries of life; it leaves them to die of misery and exhaustion. The people have either no children at all, or have them only to starve. The cultivators are driven from their homes to seek for better treatment in some neighbouring state. Some follow the army; they prefer becoming servants to common horsemen, to remaining in their native villages and cultivating the land. Helplessness of the sovereign.

"The ground is seldom tilled except by compul-

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Misery of cultivators.

sion. There is no one to repair the ditches and canals. The houses are dilapidated; few persons will build new ones or repair those which are tumbling down. The peasants will not toil for tyrants. The tyrants will not care for lands which may be taken from them at any moment. They draw all they can out of the soil; they leave the peasants to starve or run away; they leave the land to become a dreary waste.

Misery of artisans.

"Artisans are treated with the same oppression. They are kept at work by sheer necessity or the cudgel. It is enough for them if they can satisfy the cravings of hunger and clothe themselves in the coarsest garments. Any money gained goes to the merchant; the merchant in his turn has to hide it from the rapacity of the governor.

Slavish aristocracy.

The sovereign of India cannot select loyal men for his service. He cannot employ princes, noble men, or gentlemen of opulent and ancient families. He cannot employ the sons of citizens, merchants and manufacturers; men of education, ready to support the reputation of their family, and satisfied with the approbation of their sovereign. Instead of men of this description, the Great Moghul is surrounded by slaves, ignorant and brutal; by parasites raised from the dregs of society; strangers to loyalty and patriotism; full of insufferable pride; destitute of courage, honour, and decency.[68]

Dead weight of the court and army.

"The country is ruined to maintain the splendour of a numerous court and to pay a large army. Meantime the sufferings of the people are beyond conception. They are compelled by whips and

[68] Bernier states in his Travels that many of the Amírs were originally slaves; they had nothing to fit them for command except their fair complexions.

canes to labour incessantly for the benefit of others. They are driven to despair by cruel treatment of every kind. They are only prevented from revolting or flying away by the presence of a military force.

Sale of governments.

"The misery of these ill-fated people is swelled by the practice of selling different governments for immense sums in hard cash. The purchaser borrows the money at enormous rates of interest; he has to squeeze the principal and interest as well as his own profit out of the people. He has to make valuable presents every year to a vizier, a eunuch, a lady of the harem, and to any other person whose influence at court he considers indispensable. The governor must also enforce the payment of the regular tribute to the Padishah. Originally he may have been a wretched slave, involved in debt, and without the smallest patrimony; he yet becomes a great and opulent lord.

Tyranny in the provinces.

"Thus ruin and desolation overspread the land. The provisional governors are so many petty tyrants possessing a boundless authority. There is no one to whom the oppressed subject may appeal; he cannot hope for redress, however great may be his injuries, however often they may be repeated. It is true that the Padishah sends Wakiahnavís, or news-writers, to every province; their business is to report every event that takes place; but there is generally a disgraceful collusion between these officers and the governor, so that their presence seldom restrains the tyranny which is exercised over the unhappy people.

Asiatic justice.

"Despotic governments are not without some advantages. They have few lawyers, few suits, and

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speedy justice. Protracted law-suits are a great evil; sovereigns are bound to find a remedy; the most efficacious remedy would be to destroy the right of private property. The necessity for legal proceedings would cease at once; magistrates, lawyers, and counsellors would become useless. But the remedy would be worse than the disease. Instead of magistrates whom a sovereign could trust, we should have rulers such as I have described. Some travellers have borne different testimony from mine. They have seen two poor men, the dregs of the people, brought before a Kází. They have seen one or both punished at once or dismissed at once. They have been enchanted at the sight. They have returned to France, exclaiming,—'What excellent justice! What speedy justice! The upright Kázís of Hiúdustan are models for the magistrates of France!' They forget that had the real offender a few rupees to give the Kází, and a few more to buy two false witnesses, he would have gained his cause, or might have protracted it as long as he pleased."

Asiatic rule.

Such is the testimony of Bernier as regards Asiatic rule; such is the evidence of all Asiatic history worthy of the name.

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